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The major purpose of a seminar held in Wiesbaden, Germany, was to exchange experiences and views on the methods of expediating adjustment of rural and foreign workers to industry. Major presentations for discussion were "Internal Migration" by Magda Talamo, and "International Migration" by Elie Dimitras. Some conclusions were (1) Movement of the rural population and foreign labor into industry is significant, (2) Provisions should be made for adjustments to insure more effective employment of migrants, (3) The greatest adjustment problems are for foreign groups moving into industry, (4) Varied and great efforts are being made by employers and unions to ease the movement of people, (5) Systematic procedures are being developed, and (6) Adjustment programs must be adapted to new needs and problems. The appendixes contain five reports concerning internal and international migration, adapting rural and foreign workers to industry, the role of employers, and the role of trade unions. The conference was attended by 46 participants from 17 countries and nine participants from international organizations. (DM)

INTERNATIONAL SEMINARS 1963-4

ADAPTATION OF RURAL AND FOREIGN WORKERS TO INDUSTRY

INTERNATIONAL JOINT SEMINAR

Wiesbaden 10th-13th December 1963

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FINAL REPORT

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PARIS 1965

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INTERNATIONAL JOINT SEMINAR

Wiesbaden 10th-13th December 1963.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

FINAL REPORT

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Manpower and Social Affairs Directorate
Social Affairs Division

2, Rue André-Pascal - Paris 16
1965

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INTRODUCTION

by Solomon Barkin

Deputy to the Director of Manpower and Social Affairs,
and Head of the Social Affairs Division, O.E.C.D., Paris

The present seminar is the fourth organized by the Social Affairs Division in the year 1963 under its Programme for Employers and Unions. Three of the seminars dealt with problems of the labour market. The first, for trade union leaders, discussed the contents and nature of an active manpower policy. The third, for both employers and unionists, discussed the problems of geographical and occupational mobility, and the present one follows with a review of the methods of facilitating the adjustment of rural and foreign workers into industry and the urban community. The purpose of this seminar is to provide a forum for the exchange of experience and views on the methods of expediting adjustment thereby assisting both the Member countries and the Manpower and Social Affairs Committee.

The seminar on geographical and occupational mobility concentrated mainly on the transfer of industrial workers from one job to another and dealt also with their transfer from one area to another. Occupational preparation and training,which are the means of facilitating the shift of industrial workers from one employment to another, were the central subjects of discussion. These subjects have become crucial as job changes are becoming increasingly frequent. The process of adjustment for the occupationally mobile involves preparation for the necessity and desirability of change, counselling on the jobs to be selected or sought, training in institutions or in the plant itself, and finally the maintenance of income and services during the period of the changeover to maintain their competence and morale, their receptivity for such preparation and to provide for their dependents during the period of retraining for new employment. Training of course presumes that there is a job for the person on completion of the course.

The problems arising in the course of the geographical shift of industrial workers from one area to another are more complex. But the movement has been largely spontaneous and individual. On the whole, people have been expected to adjust on their own to the new environment as best they could. Their prior experience in industry and life in urban society were presumed to permit them to make this transfer with minimum difficulties. The major issue has been that of developing the means for encouraging the movement itself, where it is laggard, through financial aid to people making the change. The rationale for providing such assistance has been that the community could afford this expense since such a transfer would lead to a better geographical distribution of manpower, supply employees to enterprises with shortages and relieve the community of origin of the costs of maintaining unemployed people. Geographical movements of workers would thereby contribute to economic growth and avoid the personal and social problems resulting from unemployment and the intensification of the problems of distressed areas.

In many places there was a second issue concerning geographical mobility. Inadequate housing for the newcomers had discouraged migration and, where the movement had taken place, had interfered with their adjustment and raised the costs, thereby increasing pressures on wages. Housing provisions have therefore been sought but the initiatives have been limited and the relief inadequate. The chronic shortage of housing for the permanent residents in the expanding community has usually prevented adequate attention being given to the needs of the migrants. Nevertheless, some special housing arrangements have been made in some areas. On the whole, there has been little organized planning of the geographical movement of industrial workers.

The present seminar deals with two major groups of migrants who present much more serious problems of adjustment than the above. Any assumption that rural and foreign worker migrants would spontaneously and easily adjust themselves to the new industrial environment is contradicted by our vast experience. Both rural and foreign workers usually find adaptation to the new communities relatively difficult, and the personal, social and even political, costs of the deficiencies in adjustment may be very high.

The problems of adjustment for rural migrants and emigrants or immigrants are to be found in most countries. Some are experiencing a significant shift of rural workers into industry primarily into urban centres; and still others have to deal with all three types of movements. But whether an area is primarily a centre of emigration or immigration, it faces serious social, economic and political problems arising from these movements. The emigration areas are concerned with defining the number and characteristics of the emigrants, as well as insuring the maintenance of a viable stable population for local growth where they are intent on stimulating it. The receiving countries and communities, on the other hand, have problems of accepting and helping the newcomers adjust to the new environment. The benefits of bringing into the country adults ready and capable of entering immediately into the production system are known, but there are costs and possible social damage and political threats to contend with in the case of poor adjustment. Interest is increasing in organizations for the orderly emigration and immigration of people, to facilitate and accelerate the process of adjustment, to make the movement more profitable, and less disruptive in the long run for all concerned.

The major interest of this seminar is first the problems arising out of procedures for encouraging rural people to move into industry or to emigrate, such as how to prepare them for this change, and second, the processes, institutions and techniques for aiding them in the adjustment to the new jobs and environment. While the primary emphasis is upon the role which unions and employers have assumed, or could develop in the future, and the services which they can establish, it must be realized that there are other agencies within the community which have distinct and often even more fundamental functions to perform. In the first instance there is the government, which generally lays down the major elements of policy and organizes many agencies and services for adjustment. Then there are also private associations, including religious agencies, which occupy most important roles in this field.

We have been talking primarily of the process of adjustment. But the process must have a purpose. Where the results are not carefully defined, the best efforts may prove disappointing, if for no other reason than that there is no ready way of comparing accomplishments with the ultimate test. Efforts may be wasted if the process of adjustment is carried on well beyond the desired goals.

A single definition of purpose is of course difficult when one studies both national migrants and foreign workers. Each person has migrated for different purposes and his goals must be reconciled with those of the receiving community and country. The expectations of the person who considers himself a temporary migrant and whom the receiving community and nation also consider temporary, will be quite different from those of a permanent settler whom the receiving community will consider as such. The shorter the period of stay, the more limited is the goal of adjustment and the more modest need be the progress toward full accommodation.

In the case of permanent migrants who have to adjust totally to the new environment and needs, the end result can be complete assimilation, which would involve the absorption of all the mores, customs, habits, value systems and behaviour patterns of the new communities and nation. This process is particularly difficult where the distances between the migrant and the resident community are greatest. These differences involve all phases of a person's existence, cultural, religious, social, economic and political. Complete assimilation is therefore likely to be a slow process. It will proceed rapidly in some phases and more slowly in others. It is likely that there will be no assimilation in some areas, as in the case of religion or ethnic identity, while it may be complete economically.

There can be a complementary or alternative approach, which will permit an easier accommodation, if both the newcomers and the residents accept the philosophy of integration. Essentially it is the acceptance of non-assimilation and equality of status of some aspects of the life of the newcomers. This attitude is increasingly accepted as respects the religious aspects of the newcomer's life. In most countries, religious differences are readily tolerated and observance of personal religious practices is respected even where they differ significantly from the predominant ones in the community.

As for absorption into the industrial life of the urban community, assimilation is likely to be the goal for government, employers, unions and migrants. Translating this aim into its concrete specific objectives would mean assuring an identity of terms, conditions of employment and opportunities for advancement for the new migrant and the present personnel. For wages and hours of work, such an identity of terms is relatively easy to achieve. More significant problems arise in relation to promotion, opportunities for training and participation in the trade union and works councils. But even here there is increasing recognition of the need for total assimilation. In some countries, where discrimination in employment has been rampant, the migrant groups have been given preference so that they can overcome the past deficiencies and accelerate the process of assimilation.

The overall aim is to advance migrants as quickly as possible into the receiving community and to prevent them from becoming a marginal group between two cultures.

But it is not sufficient to define the ultimate goals. The process of adjustment depends primarily on the procedures for effecting the change. For that purpose many different tools and techniques will be used to aid the individual and his dependents. These deal with many different aspects of life. There are the induction and training processes within the plant and the job, and then the procedures of absorption into the informal and formal associations of employees within the plant society. On the outside are the diversity of elements embraced under such general headings as social, cultural, religious, economic and political. They involve such matters as language, housing, meetings, social facilities, shopping provisions, community facilities, schooling for the young, family medical facilities, social care, and leisure time provisions.

As mentioned, the greater the social and cultural distance between the newcomers and the residents in particular areas, the more assistance will the former require and the more deliberate must be the process of adjustment. The greater the number of people involved, the more formal and specialized should be the agencies administering specific techniques and services.

Both management and unions have a real interest in providing such facilities and services and in ensuring that the government, community and other agencies establish such others as they are unable to organize themselves. This is particularly important for management because ready assimilation will assure highly productive people.

These services are important also for trade unions whose objective is to create a homogeneous work force of equal members whose rights as individuals are equally respected, who enjoy parity in benefits and whose common objectives of advancing social and economic standards are increasingly realized. The full assimilation of the newcomers is a prerequisite for the ultimate existence and purpose of the unions.

The present seminar offers both management and trade-unions an opportunity to examine the problems and difficulties which they have encountered and to describe the solutions which they have from time to time developed. The participants have much to learn from the experiments, successes and failures. They will also be able to observe ways in which unions and management can cooperate in building joint or separate programmes which supplement and reinforce one another. The ultimate objective is the easiest and quickest adjustment of rural and foreign workers into the new work force, society and community at the lowest personal cost and inconvenience and the highest social benefit.

The importance of the smooth handling of the problems of adjustment of rural and foreign workers transcends even the interest in their ready assimilation and/or integration into industry and the new communities. It brings to the fore the entire issue of adaptation to change for all people which is the cornerstone of an "active manpower policy", of an economy embarked upon economic and social growth. In it people are constantly confronting changes and in need of cooperating in the processes of change and of being ready to adapt to the new developments.

It has been widely accepted that the governments, trade unions, employers and communities must develop individual, joint and coordinated programmes for such adjustment to ease the transfer of people from one employment to another. The rationale for such work is not only the need to reduce the costs, personal hardship and social damage resulting from change but also to inspire in the minds and hearts of people the confidence that they will not be injured by change and that they will benefit by the process. Ultimately it is hoped that such action will create acceptance of change and possibly promote cooperation to the point where the participants in our economy will themselves advance change.

The problems of the adjustment of rural and foreign workers constitute one phase of the general process of adjustment. To the degree that we provide an organized and deliberate programme which adequately meets the migrants' needs and facilitates their adjustment to the new work places and communities, we shall be promoting the broader objective of economic growth and rising living standards in a stable society.

REVIEW OF REPORTS
AND DISCUSSION
AT THE SEMINAR

by Magda Talamo

and Elie Dimitras

Part I

INTERNAL MIGRATION

by Magda Talamo

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INTRODUCTION

This paper is a report on the statements made and the discussions which took place on the adaptation of rural workers to industry (internal migration) at the International Joint Seminar at Wiesbaden in December 1963. No new theses will be presented, nor will an assessment be made in this analysis of the problems defined and the crucial points raised.

The material was examined and then divided into three parts: the first identifies the migratory movements and modes of transfer from agriculture to industry; the second describes certain problems of adaptation to working and cultural conditions in industrial communities; the third illustrates a few examples of the techniques applied to facilitate occupational and social adaptation, and discusses the role of employers' organizations and trade unions.

The following is thus an attempt to classify, in certain broad categories, the crucial matters discussed at Wiesbaden, and to define a number of problems connected with internal migration which came to light during the seminar.

The analysis is based mainly on sources of two types: data obtained from the reports and case studies presented by various authors who participated in the seminar, and summaries of the discussions which took place after each report or study.(1)

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(1) In addition to reports specifically concerned with internal migration, pertinent parts of reports covering international migration were also studied. The following reports were examined:

No. 1: "Introductory report on internal and international migration of rural workers into industry" - I.L.O.

No. 2: "Techniques for adapting rural workers to industry" - Magda Talamo

....../

1. THE SITUATION

1.1 Identity and modes of internal migration

A prerequisite for the programming of efficient and coordinated action in solving the problems raised by social contingencies, is sound knowledge of basic data from both the quantitative and qualitative standpoints.

The volume of information on internal migration in Europe is much less than that on international or transoceanic migrations and related problems.

It must also be borne in mind that certain European countries, at present experiencing substantial internal migrations, were until recently the sources of manpower forming the major international, European, and transoceanic migratory currents. The European countries in which internal occupational and geographic mobility are not a very recent development, and in which the application of scientific research to the study of social phenomena is an older tradition, are, therefore, the countries where data concerning this subject, and relevant studies, can be found more easily.

Regarding purely statistical information, the I.L.O. report stresses that manpower movement from agriculture to industry exists and is increasing in all the countries concerned, but that relevant data on the subject are lacking. Further, although statistics concerning internal migration are available from a large number of countries, no distinction is made between rural areas and industrial centres and there is no

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(1) continued from previous page

No. 3: "Techniques for adapting rural and foreign workers to industry" - Part I: Elie Dimitras; Part II: Wilhelm Herbst

No. 4: "Role of employers in adaptation of rural and foreign workers to industry" - Gunnar Lindström

No. 5: "Role of trade unions in adaptation of rural and foreign workers to industry" - Roger Louet

These reports are contained in Appendices 1-5.

The case studies considered, all relating to internal migration, are the following :

No. 1: "The SINCAT Company, Italy" - Paolo Vigorelli

No. 2: "N.V. Philips Gloeilampenfabrieken, Drachten, Holland" - Roelof Terpstra

No. 3: "Société Gambin, Haute-Savoie, France" - Pierre Servoz

No. 4: "Le département français de l'Eure-et-Loir, France" - Roger Louet

Other data have been obtained either from documents distributed during the seminar, or from brief reports of national situations sent to the O.E.C.D. after the seminar. These documents are cited wherever necessary. The case studies and national reports are included in the Supplement to the Final Report.

mention of occupational origins or the kinds of jobs taken after moving.

"The statistical or other data available very often shed some light on the extent and characteristics of internal and international migration, but direct and precise information on the movement of rural workers to industry is generally lacking. This movement is an indirect result of the gradual diminution of the agricultural population and of farm labour. Its logical corollary is increased employment in the other sectors of the economy, especially industry.

"It is therefore essential, before making any examination of internal or international occupational migration, to estimate the extent of this drift from the land in the European countries for which information is available. (1)

"In France, the active agricultural population fell from 7,484,000 in 1946 to 5,190,000 in 1954; from then until 1960, it dropped by another 1,030,000 (147,000 per annum). During this period, the number of men dropped more sharply than the number of women. Industrial manpower rose from 6,419,000 to 7,049,000. (2)

"In the Federal Republic of Germany, agricultural manpower dropped by 330,000 (i.e. by 55,000 per annum) between 1950 and 1955 and by 1,244,000 (207,000 per annum) between 1955 and 1960. The proportion of agricultural manpower in relation to total manpower fell from 23 per cent in 1950 to 13.8 per cent in 1961. (3)

"In Italy, the trend of agricultural employment was as follows : the total labour force fell between November 1951 and May 1957 from 8,261,000 to 7,652,000, i.e. from 42.2 per cent to 35.5 per cent of the active population. By 1962, only 5,521,000 workers were employed in agriculture, i.e. 27.7 per cent of the total active population. The male labour force diminished by 43 per cent, from 6,228,000 in November 1951 to 3,746,000 in 1962, but the female labour force was only reduced by 13 per cent during this period. (4)

"In Norway, the number of agricultural workers dropped from 295,000 to 250,000 between 1946 and 1950, i.e. from 21.5 per cent to 18 per cent of the total active population.

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(1) The following information is taken from an I.L.O. study entitled "Why the workers leave the land", (Geneva, 1960, New Series, No.59). The information on the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy, the United Kingdom and Sweden has been brought up to date. The report is concerned only with the post-war period. It should be remembered, furthermore, that the study in question contains an analysis for certain countries of the factors which have influenced occupational migration, as well as certain consequences of the drift from the land.

(2) Statistical yearbook for 1954 and "Employment Survey", October 1960 (Statistical Study No. 2, 1962).

(3) Statistisches Jahrbuch, 1957-1962.

(4) Atti Parlamentari, Camera dei Deputati, Doc VII, N.1, Relazione generale sulla Situazione Economica del Paese, Rome, 1963, p. 85.

"In the Netherlands, the permanent male agricultural labour force fell from 531,787 in 1947 to 431,102 in 1956, i.e. by about 20 per cent. The percentage of employment in agriculture compared with employment in general, calculated in man/years, fell from 14.2 per cent in 1949 to 11.5 per cent in 1956. The index for agricultural employment (1949-50/1952-53 = 100) dropped from 124.9 in 1938-39 to 92 in 1956.

"In Sweden, the agricultural labour force fell from 723,000 in 1940 (24 per cent of the total labour force) to 540,000 in 1950 (18 per cent) and 346,900 in 1960 (10.7 per cent). During this latter period, some 200,000 people left the land each year. (1)

"In Switzerland, 69,469 men and 86,233 women left the land between 1939 and 1955. The number of male agricultural workers fell during this period from 344,235 to 274,863, i.e. a drop of 20 per cent. Between 1955 and 1960, a further reduction of about 10 per cent was recorded in the male agricultural labour force. (2)

"In the United Kingdom, the active agricultural population fell from 1,258,000 in 1931 to 1,116,000 in 1951, i.e. from 6 to 5 per cent of the total active population. Between 1952 and 1956, 16,800 people left the land each year, and 18,000 people each year between 1957 and 1961. In 1961 the active agricultural population accounted for only 4.2 per cent of the total active population." (3) (4)

From the qualitative standpoint, the problem of the adaptation of rural workers to industry (except in certain specific cases) requires the same type of approach, whether migration is internal or international. In both cases, in fact, it is first and foremost a question of overcoming obstacles to the reconciliation of two types of culture, urban and rural, and secondarily, of making good the difference in the degrees of general and specific training between workers of rural and of urban origin. In this connection, it was observed during the seminar that : "The problems associated with these two groups (native rural workers and foreign labour) do show some differences, but to a large extent they coincide. Simplifying a little, we can say that the problems encountered in the transfer of native rural workers are also found in the adaptation of foreign workers, all the more so since the bulk of them nowadays are rural workers". (5)

Contrarily, there are, of course, differences in the types of movement. From this point of view, so far as internal migration is concerned, the problem of adaptation may be considered on the basis of three assumptions :

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(1) I.L.O. International Labour Review, May 1956, p.509, and Statistisk Tidskrift (Central Bureau of Statistics) No. 6, 1962, p.379.

(2) Banque populaire Suisse, "Reflets", July 1963.

(3) Annual Abstract of Statistics, 1952-1961, and Monthly Digest of Statistics, 1957-1962.

(4) See report No. 1.

(5) See report No. 4.

(a) Industry transplanted to a rural area: rural workers must adapt themselves to the changes introduced by industry, while continuing to live in the original rural environment;

(b) Daily commuting;

(c) Temporary or permanent movement of rural workers to industrial areas in varying stages of urbanization: consequent necessity of adaptation to the urban environment.

The first case, namely the adaptation of the male worker to industrial life in a rural setting, should make the least changes in the habits of the worker, who continues to live in his own house and his original environment. But both employers and unions stressed problems which may arise. Indeed: "In the case in which an industrial firm starts fresh operations in an area or moves to an area where labour is available..., certain problems, such as the general process of assimilation, contact with former home districts and perhaps the housing question, will be simpler. Others again, e.g. retraining and the fact that the bulk of the labour force is unaccustomed to industrial work, can give rise to greater difficulties from the firm's point of view". (1)

Another report states: "However, the establishment of an industry necessarily transforms various aspects of the rural environment; for instance, the family structure is affected. As most of those entering industry are young people, the conflict between the two generations may be aggravated.

"...The whole rural environment is affected by the establishment of a factory, which is always accompanied by groups of operatives and executives bringing with them a more modern way of life. A gradual change will follow in the political and religious views of the villagers and in their customs". (2)

Regarding daily commuting, the same author observes: "...This half-way solution, between country and town life is mainly adopted by young, single people... It is, however, usually a provisional arrangement adopted while awaiting accommodation in the town.

"When workers travel every day from country to town, the chances of tension within the family are just as great as if they worked in rural industry. In addition, the extra fatigue of the journey may affect the worker's productivity, and there may be more industrial accidents". (3)

Finally, the third case, that is to say, movement from a rural area to an urban area, particularly if the latter is highly industrialised, is the one in which all the problems and aspects of adaptation are the most acute. In this connection it is observed that: "...Adjustment to urban surroundings is always a matter of some difficulty, the acuteness of which varies with the social and cultural distance separating the two environments. Physical distance attenuates the family links and adds to the feeling of isolation. This is especially so in the very big cities, where the pace of life and social habits differ most from those in the country. The telling factor is thus the social disparity, that is, the sociological difference between customs in town and country. In advanced countries, these differences tend to become blurred: housing, comfort and leisure are becoming more and more standardized. The media for dissemination of ideas (radio, television, the press) are also finding their way into rural households. In under-developed countries, on the other hand, to move to the town is to enter a different world".(1)

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(1) See report No. 4.
(2) See report No. 5.
(3) See report No. 5.

1.2 The process of industrialisation

The four case studies presented all relate to the transplantation of industry into areas with essentially rural economies and cultures. These case studies illustrate the range of problems connected with the process of adaptation of rural workers to industry and with the changes which occur when industry enters a rural area. Further, the cases discussed also illustrate the consequences which can arise from industrial decentralisation, according to the social-economic context in which it occurs.

1.2.1 Italy: the SINCAT Company

"The industrial development of the Province of Siracuse (in which the Priolo plant of the SINCAT (Edison Group) is an active agent) is taking place in the coastal strip of about 30 kms. between the towns of Siracuse and Augusta... At the beginning of the process ... industry, properly speaking, did not exist in the province, whose life and economy were thus agricultural, with some handicrafts, at subsistence level only ... the SINCAT was not the first to arrive, but it was certainly the company that brought in the most capital and created the most new jobs: it is the SINCAT, therefore, that caused the greatest wave of social and psychological change ... construction of the Priolo plant started in Autumn 1956, after two years of project study ...

"Rapid industrial development created a particular social climate. Almost magical powers were attributed to industrialisation: the capability of 'rapidly' changing social and economic situations that have stagnated for centuries.

"Public opinion showed remarkable faith in the future: once the spell of immobility was broken, progress was to be automatic, spontaneous, irresistible. Nothing special need be done to gather the fruits: there was to be work and plenty - especially plenty - for everybody ... industry alone is responsible if the miracle is not worked at all levels of the social system ... The farmers protest because they can no longer find labour ... The schools are short of teachers, because men and women with degrees in humanities or law took to industry for employment: industry's fault again. And if industry exerts pressure on certain public utilities, for their adjustment to suit the requirements of an industrial system, or if it takes any initiatives in the public sector, it is guilty of paternalism.

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(1) See report No. 5, also report No. 2, specifically concerned with this matter, particularly paragraph 2.2, "Rural and urban culture".

"But the new generations entering industry are beginning to discard their traditional cultural patterns ... In the not too distant future, contact with the industrial system will change concepts of human relations, human responsibility, the "condition humaine". But changes in a segment of the social system do not necessarily presage parallel changes in the wider social context. If any conclusion can be derived from the developments described, it is that these changes in a segment can cause a crisis, unless accompanied by complementary changes elsewhere in the system, and particularly at decision making levels.

"In the absence of co-ordination, organization and clear directives at all levels, in the effort towards rationalising social processes, it is probable that the social changes triggered in the new generations of industrial manpower may develop towards social conflict, or passive dependence. This is a risk inherent in any process of development through industrialisation." (1)

1.2.2 Holland: N.V. Philips Gloeilampenfabrieken, Drachten

"In 1950 Philips started an establishment at Drachten, in the Eastern part of the province of Friesland, a region in which people lived practically entirely by agriculture, particularly cattle farming. A considerable part of the population had too little income due to many small farms. In addition the number of unemployed was continuously high. One of the means by which the authorities decided to solve the problems in Eastern Friesland was by promoting industrialisation.

"After the war the Philips concern was faced with the necessity of decentralising its industrial activities. That is why a start was made with an establishment at Drachten. The problem the company had to cope with was the adaptation of rural labourers to industrial work. It was also necessary for the employee's family which frequently came to Drachten from small villages to adapt properly, and for the Drachten community and the new inhabitants to accept each other and become integrated into one community.

"The Philips' factory at Drachten is a precision engineering industry. In 1950, the assembly of dry razors was started, in which about 100 people were employed. It was soon clear that the adaptation of the employees was proceeding so satisfactorily that an extension of the works was possible. Over a period of twelve years the number of employees increased from 263 in 1951 to 2,566 in 1962 ... The purpose of industrial development in Friesland has never been to change an agricultural province into an industrial district. Philips has therefore always tried, in its personnel policy, to integrate its employees into the whole of the local evolution, so that the agricultural and the industrial sectors can supplement each other ...

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(1) See case study No. 1.

"It is very difficult to determine whether the efforts of Philips, Drachten to promote the adaptation to industry by various means have been entirely successful. In any case the growth of the staff to approximately 2,500 is not without significance. The labour turnover is, generally speaking, not higher than 10-13 per cent. The integration of industry into the local evolution is considered particularly important. There is no psychological contrast between industry and agriculture and between industrial and agricultural workers ... there is a clear appreciation of industry, its working methods, organisation and personnel policy". (1)

1.2.3 France: Gambin Company, Haute-Savoie

"The department of Upper Savoy, situated in the French Alps between Italy and Switzerland, has been expanding industrially for many years ...

"Despite the progress made in the department as a whole, certain areas of Upper Savoy have lost part of their active population.

"This is the case as regards the canton of Saint-Jeoire, which includes the commune of Viuz in which the Gambin Company settled after its recent move from the Paris area, under the decentralisation scheme.

"Despite a growth of 22.3 per cent in the population of Viuz as a result of the arrival of the Gambin Company personnel, the canton of Saint-Jeoire showed an increase of only 0.4 per cent during this period.

"It was a genuine economic backwater, abandoned by its population which had to move out in search of a livelihood.

"The arrival of the Gambin Company has therefore saved one mountain district which cannot grow enough food to assure reasonable living conditions for its population.

"The number of wage-earners in the canton of Saint-Jeoire rose from 220 in 1955 to 620 in 1962.

"... At first sight there seemed to be few factors likely to favour the integration of Viuz-en-Sallaz into the industrial world of today.

"Situated 1,800 feet above sea level, Viuz is a comparatively isolated village in one of the Savoy valleys. Its population is declining and ageing ... The young people who remain in the village have no permanent or specific trade, having received no vocational training (they either drive lorries, fell trees and do seasonal work on the land and simple mechanical jobs, or work in factories 20 to 30 km away.) One or two small businesses employ local labour ... There were, however, several factors which warranted a more optimistic view ... geographical site and situation, labour, progressive outlook of the mayor ... the absence of other industries and the size of the commune which eliminated the usual small town political complications weighed in favour of Viuz. There was one other apparently decisive factor, i.e. the policy of the town council in the matter of housing the Paris staff. Several extensive plots of ground were made available, enabling individual villas to be built, approach roads to be opened up, and water and electricity laid on very quickly. However, the lack of communal amenities was to raise serious difficulties ...

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(1) See case study No. 2

"Paradoxically enough the question of manpower does not appear to have been the major difficulty ... By 8 June 1960, the Gambin Company employed 360 people of whom 220 had been recruited on the spot. These included 200 agricultural workers who had never been employed in industry before. Since then, about 100 workers have been taken on and the works now employs 494 people ... The Paris staff have to face the problem of being cut off from their usual environment and way of living and having to adapt themselves to a very new setting and way of life. There was also the question of housing ... It will be readily understood that such a radical change of living conditions did not proceed without heart searchings. Everybody became homesick for Paris and 16 families lost heart and went back. The number of new arrivals, however, more than offset this set-back and 175 families now working for the Gambin Company have come in from elsewhere ... output has gone up by 30 per cent, a result which could not have been achieved in Paris ... Although carried out under very favourable conditions, the move has nevertheless raised difficulties in connection with the adaptation of agricultural workers to industry. Certain of these have already been or seem likely to be settled but others are still awaiting a solution ... Decentralisation cannot be allowed to develop in a haphazard way.

"The truth is that for every successive experiment, several failures have had to be recorded.

"The first step must be to see that the local rural communities are thoroughly briefed on the subject.

"Resettling a firm in an isolated rural setting is something that must always remain the exception rather than the rule.

"Optimum conditions can only be ensured by planning solid industrial areas that will group together a number of firms.

"The trade union movement must be given more and more say in major decisions of this kind.

"For the time being it can only remain on the defensive for such time as decisions are made without the participation of the workers.

"It will only be in co-operation with the agricultural community that the trade union movement will find the appropriate answer". (1)

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(1) Case study No. 3.

1.2.4 France: The French Department of Eure-et-Loir

"In the Department of Eure-et-Loir alone, nearly 25,000 people have left agricultural work to take up employment in industry since 1945. The great majority of those changing over in the first ten years were men. A considerable proportion (nearly 1,000) were absorbed by the industries in the department. Another section entered the building trade as labourers or skilled workers ... The labour switching from agriculture to building usually found its way to the Paris area or, for a time, to the devastated areas of Normandy ... For some years past, migration from agriculture has been most noticeable in the west of the department, especially in the Nogent-le-Rotrou region. Events are taking the same course as during the reduction in employment in the Beauce. It may be added that in this region of the Perche, some peasants do not entirely cease work on their pasture farms, but combine it with their factory jobs. They thus do two days' work in one, and full days' work at that!

"... This situation persists and will probably continue for another ten years at least, for the thousands of surplus agricultural labourers which the Perche will unload from Eure-et-Loir and Orne ... Cut off from their individual way of life, they find it difficult to get used to any aspect of communal or organised living. They are nearly always responsible for a large speed up in factory production. They are used to accepting agricultural wage rates without demur, and try to swell their pay packets by working at an often excessive rate of ouptut and regularly volunteering to do what is sometimes a staggering amount of overtime, day or night. Incidentally, all the supervisory services are extraordinarily ready to overlook clear infringements of social legislation. Abuses are found which could not occur in areas with decades of industrial tradition behind them ... Between now and 1970, 25,000 young people in the Eure-et-Loir department will require jobs in industry. There are no plans for their reception, and while the new industries are generally well-equipped, they are not at all concerned with social improvement ... For their part the public authorities have but scanty resources at their disposal.

"This new industrial labour force runs the risk of seeing its living conditions profoundly changed ... to help the readaptation of this labour force so that its redistribution and absorption by industry does not interfere with genuine social progress or even hinder the observance of current social legislation, all the supervisory bodies should deal much more severely with flagrant infringements (excessive overtime, work in factories during the paid holiday, undeclared work, etc.). The education which we are trying to give these displaced persons will thus have more chance of success ...

"... Eure-et-Loir is not a special but a typical case. Furthermore the department is close to the Paris area, and has therefore benefitted from some industrial decentralisation. For manpower of rural origin in Eure-et-Loir, a change of occupation does not, therefore, necessarily entail physical removal, as is the case in the Western and South-western departments.

"Our example demonstrates the deplorable consequences of lack of preparation and planning in the transfer from agriculture to industry. It also points to the difficulties involved. These difficulties explain why nothing was done until quite recently. It does, however, seem that an effort is now being made to solve the problem: organisations are being formed, and action is taking shape." (1)

1.2.5 Observations

Certain observations come to mind after the comparative examination of the four case studies, the main elements of which have been quoted here.

1.2.5.1 The environmental difficulties encountered in the decentralisation of industry are directly proportional to the degree of underdevelopment of the receiving rural area. Case study No. 1 is very eloquent of the significance assumed by industrialisation in a depressed agricultural area, and of the expectations which consequently arise: in a context marked by lengthy frustration, problems are more acute, and the social-cultural features of the process of adaptation assume the most dramatic expression. It is not possible to solve the human problems raised by industrial transformation with the same celerity as technical problems: solutions must await orientations ensuring that economic improvement will produce effective well-being and social progress.

Although the success recorded in case study No. 2 may be attributed to the initiatives taken by the company to facilitate the integration of the rural and industrial worlds, it should be remembered that the case in question is reported from a country in which public and private organisations are particularly sensitive to these problems. Furthermore, we must not overlook the objective differences between Mediterranean areas in the process of industrialisation, and those in northern Europe, as well as the differences in labour market conditions.

The industrialisation of rural areas raises local problems, such as increased cost of living; increased needs; desire for social mobility, and labour market changes (with consequent increased cost of labour, causing a crisis in agriculture and the crafts).

Although it may frequently be true that the inhabitants of such areas expect industry to solve every problem (see case study No. 1), it is also true that they have transferred the centre of local power to industry: industry's responsibility lies in the fact of being at the origin of environmental change.

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(1) Case study No. 4.

1.2.5.2 The transfer from agriculture to industry triggers a process affecting both the one and the other, and not the rural inhabitant alone: it starts the integration of rural and industrial structures. The transfer of urban industrial workers to the Haute-Savoie (case study No. 3) illustrates a further aspect of the adaptation process. In cases of this type, adaptation becomes "collective re-adaptation", involving both rural and town dwellers in a new transient cultural system, which is no longer rural, still not industrial, but born from the encounter of two traditions.

1.2.5.3 Moreover, the passage of manpower from agriculture to industry must also be considered in terms of the movement and dynamics of enterprises, and not only of the workers. To facilitate adaptation, industrial decentralisation policies must be preceded by the creation of the necessary infrastructures and, in parallel, the institution of controls guaranteeing their efficiency and adequacy. Case study No. 4 is extremely interesting in this respect.

Industrial decentralisation is a policy being followed in most O.E.C.D. countries in regional development planning. The aims of the policy are (a) the absorption of excess rural manpower, and (b) the decongestion of large industrial-urban centres. In this context, the necessity of possessing the basic data for planning is re-confirmed: accurate information concerning available and absorbable manpower, and its needs.

1.2.5.4 When following a decentralisation policy, the problem of synchronising the rapid emigration from rural areas and the necessarily slower period of industrialisation remains to be solved. There is also the question of ensuring an availability of manpower in the receiving regions (or countries, in the case of international migrations) from which it is at present migrating, once the process of industrialisation begins to advance. But the "recuperation" of emigrants, once jobs are available in these regions, involves yet further problems, such as the planning and co-ordination of both internal and international migratory currents and of the economics involved, in terms of costs and advantages, for both emigrational and immigrational regions or countries.

2. THE PROBLEMS

2.1 Adaptation to work in industry

For the farm-worker, entry into industry is in itself a social improvement. A job in industry represents, in fact, "... the first step in the social scale, and the expectation of further progress. Secondly, 'working together' and the feeling of belonging to the same class helps the subject over the impact of different mentalities. Thirdly, the worker from the country enters the same social-economic context as the town workers, and in this context he also encounters such organisations as the unions, in which he is absolutely on a par with the native-born member.

"Status as a member of the working class thus promotes adaptation. But the same cannot be said of the fact of being a worker, that is to say, of the set of tasks the ex-rural worker is expected to face as a hand in a factory". (1)

Regarding adaptation to work in industry, discussions at Wiesbaden brought to light several categories of problems which accompany the various phases of industrialisation. Firstly, there is the recruitment problem; then there is the question of technical integration, followed by the human relations problem in the factory, and finally the matter of career openings for ex-rural workers.

2.1.1 Recruitment

Two completely opposed types of difficulty have been described. The first is a disproportion between the offer of labour and the availability of jobs in the factory (case study No. 1), and the second, on the contrary, is the initial refusal of rural workers to accept work in industry (case study No. 2).

In the first case, the unbalance between expectations of work and the objective possibilities of satisfying them was aggravated by the particular type of plant, whose manpower requirements were largely for qualified labour, whereas the local labour market could only offer unskilled labour. Further, jobs which it was thought, or hoped, would be "steady", turned out to be temporary, as dictated by developments in the factory.

All this resulted in a state of tension between the job-hungry local population and the management. The recruitment procedures of the latter rose like a wall before those competing for employment. So recommendations, based less on the qualifications of the candidate than on the prestige of his supporter as an authoritative witness of the candidate's need for a job, appeared as the surest, if not the only way of getting into the factory. The author observes : "This situation has serious consequences. Getting a job is regarded as a success obtained "despite" the management. Recruitment procedures and scientific selection are considered as a sham, masking discrimination and favouritism, whereas the powerful motivation for work prevents the individual from seeing a degree of discrimination at least equivalent to that of which management is accused, in the activity of the "protectors". But the unfortunate conclusion is, that the application of recruitment procedures causes an attitude of hostility towards the management. Even before he is employed, the applicant sees an enemy in the management:

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(1) See report No. 2

if he gets the job, he has only his "protector" to thank, to whom he must turn also to avoid subsequent possible dismissal, or for promotion.

"A climate of conflict thus already reigns, even before the applicant has acquired stable status as a worker in industry". (1)

In the second case, although unemployment in the area was considerable, the available manpower seemed initially disinclined to accept work in a factory, either because industrial work "had a bad name" among rural workers, or because the status of an industrial worker was not very high in the villages of the region. According to the author, rural workers went to work in industry only where there were good chances of a fixed income, without much risk of unemployment.

2.1.2 Technical integration.

The ex-peasant or farm-worker may show a tendency to overestimate his capacities as a worker in industry.

As illustrated in case study No. 1, for example, the ex-rural workers tend to abandon their "positive" attitude upon confirmation of permanent employment, after initial periods of trial and training, during which they have shown a strong motivation for learning, and have attained a degree of technical ability. Objective recognition of occupational proficiency in the form of a permanent job seems to exercise a negative influence on the desire to improve, leading the individual to consider that the knowledge acquired is not only sufficient, but justifies immediate promotion.

On the other hand - in the particular case in question - the steady expansion of the plant demanded considerable flexibility in the deployment of manpower. The management was obliged to "switch" operators frequently from one job to another. At the same time, the firm's skilled labour requirements could not be satisfied in the local market.

Thus, the technical needs of the company and the desire for advancement of the workers are contradictory. Consequently, the author concludes: "... The integration of the worker in the factory is therefore substantially affected by the difference in view-points between the management and the employees." (2)

A further cause of failure to adapt to industrial work may be found in factory conditions. In this respect, the author of case study No. 3 says: "Although the works has been well designed, in accordance with modern technical standards, the former agricultural workers have not been able to adapt themselves to working three 8-hour shifts and using the clocking-on machine at the gatehouse.

"Despite heating and air conditioning, they cannot forget their previous open-air existence.

"Several local workers have been unable to stand up to the system and a number of typical health disorders have made their appearance, i.e. stomach trouble, nervous breakdowns, etc., despite the robust constitution of the sufferers.

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(1) See case study No. 1.
(2) See case study No. 1.

"There have been absences for illness and cases of unwillingness to continue overtime work.

"Workers are depressed not only by the rigid timetables but by the inevitable factory setting.

"They continue to feel uprooted and as soon as their work is over, hurry back to their holdings in search of air and freedom.

"The economic pressure is such, however, that few local workers are thinking of returning to the land in the near future." (1)

Absenteeism is a problem which arises in many different situations - for example, in the industrial North of Italy, where a high proportion of labour is of southern origin - and again in the case of Monarch Master Manufacturing Limited, which opened a plant at Orangeville, Ontario, where it was found to be the only problem in the process of adaptation of ex-rural workers. In the relevant document presented at the seminar, we read: "... during summer months attendance and punctuality was not and, to a much lesser degree, is still not as good as it is during the rest of the year. The company attributes this to the fact that a number of employees are still attached in some manner to farming activities. The company has taken a firm position on this matter with the employees and has now reduced the incidence of lateness and absenteeism to a tolerable level. The fact that the General Foreman is from Orangeville and knows the employees, and presumably, their ways intimately has been very helpful in controlling this. On occasion employees have been suspended from work for absenteeism without permission. The company has done this, even when they knew they could ill afford to lose the services of the man at the time, in order to emphasise the seriousness of absenteeism to the other employees." (2)

2.1.3 Human relations

No particular conditions of tension in relations with co-workers emerge from study of the material examined. The situation is rather more problematic, on the contrary, in as far as vertical relations are concerned.

Regarding the relations that may exist between labour and management, it has been observed that: "... When the factory is near the migrant's original home and he keeps in close touch with his original surroundings, an informal family-type relationship with the management is appreciated. The most highly industrialised workers (the most responsible and the best paid) are, however, exceptions to this rule. Their more combative attitude is better suited to relations through a trade union and a works committee. Where there is a complete break with the original environment, the workers show a marked preference for anonymous, formal relations based on a labour-management agreement." (1)

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(1) See case study No. 3.
(2) See case study No. 10.

The most serious conflicts seem to be situated at the lowest supervisory level, that is to say in the relations between the workers and their immediate superiors, with whom they are in daily contact. It is through their immediate superiors, in fact, that the workers perceive the management as a power and an authority, which because of its material and psychological remoteness, acquires in a certain sense a somewhat abstract character, beyond the individual's scope of assessment. The inability of foremen to carry out their functions in the human relations field is discussed in case study No. 1: "...Foremen from the North were generally unprepared for the mentality of the South, to them totally new. Their expectations of behaviour were thus evidently frustrated. The southern or Sicilian foremen were for their part placed for the first time in a position of responsibility within the context of a large factory. They did not always possess adequate psychological preparation. Whether prepared or not, they had to deal with subordinates who had never worked in a factory before. Further, responsibility and urgency in a plant in the process of expansion obliged them to concentrate their attention on production and productivity, at the expense of human relations." (2)

The concluding remarks of the author stress that the root of the difficulty lies essentially in the inability of the ex-rural worker to accept the rhythm, system, and values of an industrial concern. The author states that the responsibility and tasks of Staff Management in such cases are "enormous and extremely delicate".

2.1.4 Career openings

In addition to the social promotion implicit in the transfer from agriculture to industry, the ex-rural worker also hopes to make a career in the factory. This expectation is usually frustrated, because of the low level of technical training of this manpower, and the difficulties of post-entry training or re-training.

A further difficulty may arise out of excessive occupational mobility, particularly if not accompanied by effective acquisition of technical capacity.

Case study No. 1 gives an example. The management's need for occupational flexibility in the labour force accelerated the up-grading of workers, even in not fully justified cases, in the management's view. This adversely affected integration in the factory, and consequently worker-management relations. In the case in question, we read : "This rapid progress, which according to the management has not remained parallel with attainment of proficiency but preceded it, has damaged the integrative process rather than assisted it. However singular, this fact has a psychological motive: considered in retrospect, the rapidity of promotion has fostered the notion that advancement is easy. The sociological survey has shown that three quarters of all employees are convinced that they will rise in grade, with the evident target of semi-skilled. The certainty of the attainability of this target is strengthened in their minds by the conviction that the foremen, and superiors in general, will facilitate their advancement without demur.

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(1) See report No. 5.
(2) See case study No. 1.

"The contrast between these expectations and objective possibility is evident. Looking back, the workers are convinced that they will continue to rise at the same rate. But since the rise so far has been abnormal, their expectations are doomed to disappointment and a situation of tension can but result." (1)

2.1.5 Observations

2.1.5.1 The basic factor substantially impeding psychological adaptation to the factory is the lack of qualifications of the ex-rural worker, which puts him in a position of inferiority.

The seminar stressed frequently the urgent need for corrective action against this deficiency, which persists despite the steps taken in various countries, which are not always adequate.

Regarding international migratory movements, the opinion was expressed that a large-scale programme could be established on the basis of bilateral agreements between immigrational and emigrational countries. Something similar, particularly from the economic standpoint, could be established between regions within countries experiencing regional migration. Programmes of this type, at both national and international levels, could prove of great advantage to emigrational areas, which could then rapidly and profitably use returning ex-emigrant manpower.

2.1.5.2 Regarding the reconversion of manpower, the participants at the seminar had the impression that not enough weight is attached to the psychological aspects, in addition to the purely technical side of the process. Situations can thus arise in which it would appear that manpower is used solely according to the plant's production objectives, without any consideration of social promotion.

2.1.5.3 The extraordinary speed with which ex-rural workers sometimes learn industrial techniques was also stressed. A case in point is discussed in case study No. 3. Italian industry can also cite many interesting examples.

In the Scandinavian countries, Holland, Ireland and Belgium, the transfer from agriculture to industry is sometimes easier, owing to less accentuated differences in the basic education given in rural and urban areas.

2.1.5.4 The seminar stressed the fact that occupational training is a matter of interest to both the public authorities and private enterprise

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(1) See case study No. 1

The problem arises mainly at the apprenticeship level, where rural youngsters, although possessing the same aptitudes as town-raised apprentices, require longer periods of training. The subsequent output of workers from rural areas is however equivalent in both quantity and quality to that of workers from the towns. (1)

2.2 Social-cultural adaptation

The social and cultural adaptation of immigrants in industrial centres, and of rural workers in areas undergoing the process of industrialisation, affects not only the worker himself, but the members of his family (who have followed him to the urban centre), and may even affect entire communities, in the case of massive industrial decentralisation. "Assimilation problems, of course, will affect both the employees and, where applicable, their families. It is a truism to say that the greater the change in the environment the greater will be the problem. But to instance a relatively simple case, we can take the redeployment of rural workers as building workers in the same country. The changes in this case will be relatively moderate. But if we take the redeployment of rural workers from a non-industrialised country to factory work in another, highly industrialised country, the change will of course be extremely profound and often difficult." (2)

The transfer from agriculture to industry is not only an economic development, or a technical-productive change. For those who experience it, it involves a substantial transformation of patterns, and the changing of standards and values to which continuous, conscious and instinctive reference is made. Industrialisation introduces values inherent in urban society, and destroys the cultural models inherent in rural society. Immigration to an industrial community, or continuing to live in a rural community in the process of industrialisation, therefore imply an effort of adaptation in accepting the new values. "Marginality", the minority feeling, and isolation, are some of the consequences of failure to adapt socially and culturally. (3)

It was stressed at Wiesbaden that the important aspect of the case studies presented is the possibility their examination offers of revealing the cultural discontinuity between rural and industrial societies, and the problems connected with it. Certain questions were formulated, whose answers would provide valuable indications of the action that should be taken. Among others: are sufficiently thorough studies being made of the frustration and lack of adaptation revealed by certain cases? Do firms adapt their policies to suit the needs of their environment? Do firms undertake any study of their own action in favour of adaptation? "Nothing has been done to promote community life, outside the firm" is stated in case study No. 3, and the author adds : "... it is safe to say that the present generation includes a large number of rural dwellers who are unadapted to industrial life. This is particularly true of workers in a plant isolated in a highland district. The countryman feels spiritually crippled and cannot break down the barrier between his rural background and the industrial world. One of the basic difficulties is the change from individual to group relationships, a structure for which country people are ill prepared. The reason why more of the local people do not go back to farming is simply that their holdings are not self-supporting. As a consequence, some go through a period of instability and have to try several different jobs before they find their feet again." (1)

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(1) See report No. 5.
(2) See report No. 4.
(3) See report No. 2.
In particular, regarding "marginality" and the possibility marginal groups have of introducing dynamic elements of change in social structures, particularly because composed of individuals divorced from the structure, see J.J. Mol: "La fonction de la marginalité", in "Migrations Internationales", Vol. I, No. 3, 1963, pages 193-195.

Situations change according to country, and are less acute in environments where differences between urban and rural societies are less accentuated. In Austria "there is very little difference between the standard of living of rural and urban workers. There are no particular problems in adjustment to work in industry, especially if it is simple. A satisfactory level of education and constant contacts maintained by the tourist industry have made country people familiar with the slightly higher level of living of the town dwellers and evened out the cultural differences." (2)

In Holland, although certain linguistic differences exist, the rural population that has gone into industry does not constitute an unstable group, neither does it create any particular problems in the social and cultural life of the country.

The same may apparently be said of Ireland, where the city people have the same games, education, political background, religion. Where industries have set up in rural areas, no special labour difficulties have been found.

A similar view may be taken of the situation in Denmark, a typically agricultural country in which industrial development has been rapid. Here, the adaptation of rural manpower to industry has not raised problems for two essential reasons: "... Firstly it may be pointed out that the differences in cultural and social environment are not perhaps so great as they are in certain of the big countries; secondly, owing to the comparatively high degree of mechanisation, which is characteristic of Danish agriculture, the former agricultural worker does not feel the contact with the industrial form of production as something new and strange to the same extent as he would have done if he had not been prepared for it through his experience from work in agriculture." (1)

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(1) See case study No. 3.
(2) See country report on "Austria".

2.3 Integration and assimilation (2)

What is social and cultural adaptation?

Sociological literature, and particularly that concerned with the study of social changes and geographic and occupational mobility, deals extensively with the subject. Frequent mention is made (particularly in connection with both internal and international migrations) of the adaptation, assimilation, and integration of the individuals and groups concerned in such movements. It remains however to be decided whether it is best to consider the introduction of the immigrant in terms of assimilation, or in terms of integration. (3)

According to Robert E. Park, the concept of assimilation implies social stability, rather than the complete absorption of the immigrant, at all levels. Park defines assimilation as : "... the process or processes by which peoples of diverse racial origins and different cultural heritages, occupying a common territory, achieve a cultural solidarity sufficient at least to sustain a national existence". He also observes that: the time required for assimilation of the immigrant is proportional to the time he needs to feel at ease in the new community: "... an immigrant is assimilated as soon as he has shown that he can get on in the country". (4) The immigrant acquires the effective status of belonging to a country in which he lives as soon as he ceases to exhibit, visibly, the external characteristics qualifying and distinguishing him as belonging to an alien group. Assimilation would thus appear to be a function of "visible distinction", where this term is used to indicate the observable differences between the emigrant group and the stereotype of a member of the indigenous group. (5)

The factors affecting the process of assimilation are the real or imagined spirit of competition, the cultural components and the social flexibility of the immigrant group.

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(1) See country report on "Denmark".

(2) A section of report No. 2 - contained in the Appendix - is concerned with integration and assimilation.

(3) The cultural integration of immigrants was the subject studied at the Havana Conference (Unesco, 1965). For relevant documentation the reader is referred to W.D. Borrie: "The Cultural Integration of Immigrants", Unesco, 1959.

(4) See W.D. Borrie, pages 91-98 and "Social Assimilation" in the "Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences", R.E. Park, vol. II, pages 81-83.

(5) See Ira De A. Reid: "Immigration and Assimilation", in "REMP Bulletin", vol. 4, No. 1, January-March, 1956, page 15. Assimilation is defined as "external assimilation" by Ruth Johnston. Mrs. Johnston opposes to this the concept of "subjective assimilation". See "New Approach to the Meaning of Assimilation", in "Human Relations", vol. 16, No. 3, 1963, pages 295-298.

When an immigrant group "... ceases to be thought of as an out-group and becomes incorporated in a common cultural life of the native society", then such a group may consider itself assimilated in its country of election. (1)

The concept of integration is opposed to the concept of assimilation which is based on cultural uniformity necessitating the complete surrender of immigrants' own culture, and equally complete acceptance of the receiving community's culture. Integration on the contrary, accepts cultural differentiation within social unity. It recognises the individual's and the group's right to be different, in as far as the difference does not lead to disintegration of the society". (2)

The concept of integration implies a system of social organisation and accepts cultural pluralism, on the basis that : "... no racial or ethnic group should accept the teaching of any other ...; that each group should respect all others and allow and encourage the maximum freedom of every group to find its own uninhibited way within the democratic system". (3)

To maintain that "integration" is a better and more accurate term to describe the successful insertion of a new group in a particular country is not mere pedantry. The older term "assimilation" does not in fact take into account the contribution the immigrants make to their community of adoption, nor the influence of their ideas, their talents, or their hopes on the latter. (4)

The following are some of the conclusions reached at the Havana Conference concerning the cultural integration of immigrants :

"1. There is decreasing emphasis upon the objective of assimilation in the sense of conformity in all social and cultural areas.

"2. There is a tendency towards integration implying a greater degree of cultural pluralism on the part of immigrants.

"3. This approach implies the persistence of cultural differences between immigrants and non-immigrants in certain social and cultural areas, and rests upon a belief in the importance of cultural differentiation within a framework of social unity. It recognises the right of groups and individuals to be different so long as the differences do not lead to domination or disunity". (5)

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(1) See J. Zubrzycki, "Polish Immigrants in Britain - A Study of Adjustment", The Hague, 1956, pages 75-76.

(2) See report No. 2.

(3) See Ira De A. Reid, above ref., page 17.
A survey in Australia of the attitude of Australians and immigrants towards assimilation reveals, amongst other things, that the cultural "mono-ism" of the latter (as against pluralism) is more the result than the cause of assimilation. See also Ronald Taft: "The Assimilation Orientation of Immigrants and Australians", in "Human Relations", vol. 16, No. 3, 1963, pages 279-292.

(4) See William Bernard, Report at Unesco Havana Conference; see also W.D. Borrie, op. cit., page 93.

(5) See W.D. Borrie, op. cit., page 97.

The opinions quoted above relate to the United States, where immigration is of a permanent character. The problem is nonetheless posed in Europe, in both internal and intra-European migrations, where the cultural levels of the regions involved are substantially different. If anything, the European problem is qualitatively more complex, because of the shorter distances separating countries of origin and countries of election, and consequently of the greater rapidity of transfer: that is to say, that in the case of the United States, where immigration involves large numbers, is heterogeneous and mainly permanent, the only alternative possible and compatible with the democratic principles of ethnical tolerance and the proper functioning of the country's social structure, is integration.

Can it be said that the choice of alternatives is equally clear in Europe? How can we reconcile the demands of the integration process, long and strenuous for those experiencing it, with migratory movements which are not always permanent, frequently temporary, and even seasonal? How can we reconcile the interests of the countries of origin and those of destination, from the aspect of the costs involved in creating the structures necessary for the process of integration to be started? We are not concerned here with the problem in its international migration context, but must recognise that its terms remain unchanged in the internal migration context: examples of intolerance, difficulty, and conflict are numerous and frequently dramatic in many European countries.

The movement from agriculture to industry is, as we can see, first and foremost a process of cultural transformation. As such, it is a problem which must be solved, or at least studied on both national and international levels, with due regard to all the variables involved, and on the basis of specific analysis of the social and institutional structures of each country. (1)

Doubts have been expressed concerning the possibility of integrating immigrants into receiving communities. It has been said that it would be more realistic to consider adaptation at various levels. (2)

Adaptation is certainly a phase in the progress towards integration, but is it an objective in itself?

The opinion frequently expressed at Wiesbaden was that the road towards integration or at least satisfactory levels of adaptation in the various sectors, must be approached from both ends, that is to say by the immigrants themselves and by the receiving community. Moreover, the process involves, with different degrees of responsibility, both citizens and the various social institutions. The latter should initiate the action necessary for the principles concerning the inclusion of immigrants in the community to become operative.

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(1) See S.N. Eissestadt: "Absorption of Immigrants", Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1954.

(2) See M.A. Psaras: "Introduction à l'étude du comportement psychique des travailleurs migrants et leur adaptation au milieu social du pays d'acceuil", Strasburg, May 1963; Council of Europe, RS 43.

3. ACTION

3.1 Adaptation techniques

Is it possible, at the present stage, to speak of techniques to promote the adaptation of ex-agricultural workers to industry? What has been done in this field, in various situations, by the different social organisations?

The techniques of adaptation "... do not yet constitute a sociological technology as reliable as industrial technology. Thus the most careful and conscientious application of these techniques will not result in an 'ideal' emigration operation so far as emigrant adjustment is concerned, though it may reduce the social cost to a minimum." (1)

The co-ordination, planning and execution of measures directed towards this aim is in fact a serious problem for the representatives of the various social bodies involved. Co-operation at all levels should lead to an active manpower policy; no less than the unions, the employers' associations should demand firm engagements and operative decisions from their governments. (2)

Any steps in this field involve costs. Whether the application of a policy of action by sector, or a policy favouring mobility is involved it remains to be determined from a strictly economic standpoint who should support the costs; the state, the community or the emigrant, and in what degree.

3.1.1 Information

A preliminary stage in any specific technique is the information which should be given to the immigrant before departure. This should cover the difficulties of adaptation, the mechanism of social and occupational life in industrial communities, and the value of the money earned there. Prospective emigrants tend to reason in terms of what they will earn, and not in terms of what they will have to spend, referring to prices and costs in the home area, which are certainly much lower than in an urban centre.

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(1) See report No. 3, Part I, page 1.

(2) It would appear that this interpretation should also be given to the conclusions of the Castelfusano seminar on Geographic and Occupational Mobility of Manpower organised by the O.E.C.D. in November 1963, in which it is stated:
"Advanced planning for the adjustment of the working population to the economic and technical changes, by public authorities in co-operation with management and unions and by the social partners themselves will contribute, as the case studies at this seminar have shown, to the smooth movement of people to new occupations and places. Facilities and services will then be more promptly instituted when the needs arise. The movements of the existing personnel to new occupations can then be carefully arranged and thus inspire confidence among the people in the continuity of employment and income for workers, both essential to a productive work force."
See Final Report of the Seminar, page 116

The timing of information and its division into specific subjects were amply discussed at the seminar by both employers and the unions: "... In this connection, however, it must be clearly realised that it can be difficult to give even basic information with satisfactory results. On the one hand we have workers who may be quite unaccustomed to industrial work and who may not even have seen a factory of the kind in question; on the other hand we have modern factories and complicated systems for payment and social benefits which are by no means easy to get a grip on. It is not possible to specify exactly what information should be given before engagement and what information should be given when the recruit starts work ... The information so far referred to has been that given to the job-seeker or the newly engaged worker. But it is important to furnish families with information, too. Some of it should already have been given prior to engagement ... but under all circumstances this task must largely fall upon the individual firm, which carries a heavy responsibility in this connection." (1)

3.1.2 The working world

According to the Wiesbaden discussions, two types of problem appear in the process of adaptation of the immigrant to his working world: the first relates to the factory as a social system, and consequently to the management's policy; the second is more directly related to work as a set of operations to be performed, and thus related to occupational training.

Case study No. 2 concerns the first of these problems. The author says: "... to facilitate the acceptance of work in industry, we tried to convince the applicant (and his wife) by means of talks (mostly personal) that an industry is a community of people and not only a strict, mass organisation. An assistant of the personnel manager and the housing inspectress of the works visited the applicant's home and during the talk with the man and his wife discussed to what extent the present surroundings were similar to those to which they were going to move ... in positive cases the people were transferred to an environment of people among whom they could feel at home ... Before the employee is engaged, he and his wife are invited to pay a visit to the works and the new place of residence ... They are thus making a conscious and positive choice which may be important for adaptation later on." (1)

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(1) See report No. 4.

Further on, regarding general administration, we read : "Socio-psychological examinations have been made to help in determining management policy ... The use of such an investigation has been proved clearly in that it provides management with a basis for a policy with respect to the adaptation problems also." (2)

In Holland, it would appear that a great deal of attention is devoted to ex-rural workers entering industry: the government has instituted special training facilities for these workers, and in certain concerns advice is a social service rendered to this type of worker. (3)

The basic assumption in the Dutch case study presented at Wiesbaden concerning the occupational training of ex-rural workers is that adaptation to work in industry is most efficient when the best possible use is made of the worker's capacities. Therefore determination of aptitudes justifying promotion starts at intake selection, and is continued. If the engaged worker shows such aptitudes, he can take full-time courses for promotion to a higher grade. (4)

The re-training of manpower is one of the major interests of the public authorities and private enterprise in Belgium, in response to the economic demand for reconversion and orientation towards the manufacture of new products for which the demand is increasing. To encourage and accelerate this development, the government has thus granted numerous fiscal and financial facilities, and special re-training centres have been created. The employers, for their part, are highly interested in the development of a manpower training and reconversion policy. The reconversion (re-training) system adopted appears to meet with the approval of private enterprise, and those of the workers themselves. (5)

Although experiencing less movement from agriculture to industry, Austria - particularly private industry - is looking into the problem of re-training of manpower; the unions and the industrial economic development institutes are also doing some work in this field.(6)

In Norway, candidates for employment receive full general information concerning the main aspects of their future work before formal engagement. Training starts after engagement, and further orientation is given after the first few weeks on the job. (7)

Finally, substantial efforts have been made in Denmark during the last few years to bring the education levels of the younger age-groups of rural populations up to a par with corresponding age-groups in urban populations. In particular, new "central schools" have been opened in certain areas, for greater differentiation and efficiency in teaching, raising the quality of rural education to the same level as in towns.(1)

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(1) See case study No. 2.
(2) See case study No. 2.
(3) Reply to O.E.C.D. questionnaire sent to all participants after the Wiesbaden seminar.
(4) See case study No. 2.
(5) See "L'adaptation des travailleurs ruraux à l'industrie", by M. Segier.
(6) See country report on "Austria".
(7) See country report on "Norway".

3.1.3 The community world

The degree of uniformity in the social and cultural setting in which the movement from agriculture to industry takes place is one of the objective factors which has the most influence on the degree of difficulty encountered in the transfer. The existence or otherwise of the necessary infra-structures is a further element substantially affecting the adaptation of immigrants to new communities.

A paradox from the adaptation standpoint, is the coincidence of these two factors: the countries in which social and cultural levels in rural and urban areas are substantially equal, if not identical, are at the same time the countries in which, thanks to the development of their social policies and the planning of their social services, the social and cultural infra-structures necessary for adaptation and service to immigrants, at various levels, are the most frequently available. This is one of the sectors in which the inter-relationship between economic development and social development - which ultimately determines the progress of a country - is particularly brought to light. On the other hand, the absurdity of a policy directed solely towards the economic development of the country or of several specific sectors is quite obvious.

It is thus that countries such as Holland, Austria, Belgium, Germany, or the Scandinavian states are confronted with much less acute problems of social and cultural adaptation in internal migration than those encountered in the southern European countries in general.

A traumatic factor in the transfer from agriculture to industry - and which thus renders adaptation more difficult - is abruptness. This is true not only in the more obvious cases, namely where occupational change is accompanied by movement to an industrial centre, but also in the rapid industrialisation of rural areas. In Germany, for example, despite the problem of the inadequate technical training of rural workers and the reconversion of older farm-workers, slow industrial infiltration of rural areas has assisted the process of adaptation to work in industry. The transfer has in fact been gradual and continuous. The case is similar in Denmark, where failure to adapt is the exception rather than the rule; moreover, conscription in Denmark provides an opportunity for the improvement of occupational proficiency and knowledge, or for conversion to work in industry. Progress through smaller centres before arriving at a major urban centre is also advantageous from the social adaptation standpoint.

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(1) See country report on "Denmark".

Information and up-to-date documentation on the processes governing the rationalisation and industrialisation of agriculture, in countries where these are taking place - Sweden, for example - are a further means of preparing the way for industrialisation.

It has already been observed that the process of social adaptation involves not only the immigrant, but also the receiving community, the one and the other being required to maintain an open attitude of reciprocal acceptance. This is just as true of the transfer to industry into rural areas, where a social organisation possessing its own standards, values and institutions will be found. The author of case study No. 2 writes : " ... This should not be overlooked in further development. It is therefore desirable to keep close contacts with local social organisations and institutions. These groups too are confronted with a new situation, when industrialisation is growing and many hundreds of families, looking for a future in factories, are going to move to the place where the industry is established.

"The first step taken by Philips was to hold consultations and take part in open discussions. In this way local groups become accustomed to industry and its problems and industry learns to adapt itself to local development. There is therefore a regular exchange of views with physicians, representatives of churches, schools, municipal services, social institutions, journalists, representatives of trade unions, agricultural organisations ..." (1)

Two types of problem came to light during discussions at Wiesbaden concerning social adaptation in internal migration.

The first, whose solution requires long-term planning, concerns formal education and culture. Improvements in this field would (a) raise social and cultural levels in agricultural areas to something like the levels in urban and industrial centres, and (b) make it possible for rural emigrants to urban centres to understand the social structure of a city rather better.

The second, whose solution requires essentially technical action, and can therefore be quite rapid, although raising further problems of an economic nature for which social organisations are competent, concerns the social and cultural infra-structures, institutions and services that should be established either in rural areas being urbanised or in urban centres receiving a large number of migrants.

In certain countries, a social and cultural planning policy has been established. In practice, (Holland is an example) this is effected by the creation of social centres, libraries, meeting places in which natives and immigrants can gather to discuss common problems for the reciprocal acclimatisation of the two groups, and encouraging tolerance and acceptance in the minds of the receiving community, since it is based on the principle of the "dialogue".

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(1) See case study No. 2.

Welcome committee services and other collective services for immigrants fall into this category. "The housing problem is aggravated by the problem of reception. Rural households settling in the town know nobody, cannot call upon help to look after the children, and cannot therefore benefit from the advantages of town life. A number of services should be provided to make the new arrivals feel at home, including nurseries and welfare services to smooth out the administrative details (formalities of social security, family allowances, rent)." (1)

"Collective amenities ... This was the first and most acute problem that arose after the plant had settled in. After the question of labour/management relations, it constitutes one of the major concerns of the trade union section.

"The absence of a sports ground, a library, a cultural centre and even any facilities for entertainment, e.g. cinema, etc., is a serious handicap.

"The fact is that industrial life is more exacting than country life and must be accompanied by facilities for relaxation, i.e. education, rest, leisure; unfortunately, these are still lacking at Viuz. These points should have been given the same attention at the outset, as the building of housing accommodation, now partly completed". (2)

The different social bodies are aware of the needs for such amenities. However, it is not always clear whether the employers, the unions, or the municipalities should accept to pay the bill, or some part of it. From the employers' side, it was stated at Wiesbaden : "... There are several ways in which the employer can further the facilities available to the foreign workers for recreation, leisure occupations, the pursuit of cultural interests, etc. But there are those who consider that the employers should not concern themselves with leisure matters, holding that this is something which the employee should see to for himself. On the other hand there are cases in which the employer has started this kind of activity with happy results." (3)

In the housing sector, extremely urgent action is required. There are very rare exceptions to this (Denmark, for example), that is to say, cases where industrial decentralisation accompanied by the construction of housing has decongested industrial centres, without simply transferring the housing problem to the rural areas in the process of industrialisation.

Of course, the problem varies in intensity according to the policy followed in each country. However, even socially highly organised countries, such as Sweden, are not free from housing difficulties: many immigrants in cities like Stockholm are - by Scandinavian standards - crowded into ugly housing. An experimental scheme has thus recently been started to help those leaving agriculture to purchase housing.

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(1) See report No. 5.
(2) See case study No. 3.
(3) See report No. 4.

In Holland, organisations offering accommodation - particularly to younger immigrants - have been created. They also assist young immigrants who cannot remain at their centres to find permanent accommodation.

The opinion expressed by a union representative during the seminar could well be applied to many situations in Europe: "... only too often the worker does not have decent accommodation for himself and his family. In this respect, the reception of rural labour leaves much to be desired in France, not only in towns, but also in decentralised industries. It is, moreover, a mistake to "park" the new arrivals in housing reserved for them; a "mixed" quarter is much more helpful to their adjustment." (1)

In most European countries, private enterprise has contributed in varying degrees towards solving the problem. An employer's representative stated that: "... in most cases the housing shortage was pronounced. But the concrete facts of the situation varied a great deal, depending upon the housing policy pursued by the individual countries. In this respect the task of the employer will be to attempt to exert influence on housing construction by the authorities in the district where the firm is located. In certain cases the firm includes housing construction for its employees in its own programme. Such housing must never be placed free of charge at the disposal of migrant labour, but the rent must of course be held to an acceptable level. The housing question is also perhaps the greatest difficulty when a man's family is to be transferred. The importance attached to bringing the family along is very great in the case of the workers who remain for a protracted period, and thus forms a major consideration for the employer as well". (2)

A housing policy capable of solving the serious situation of most countries experiencing heavy migrational flows (internal and international) demands more than the contribution of private enterprise: both the public authorities and the state itself must help to pay the costs, and take part in the planning.

3.2 The role of employers and unions

Trade associations play an important part in the process of adaptation and in the creation of techniques to ensure its success. The responsibilities and possibilities for action by both employers' and workers' organisations were recalled frequently at Wiesbaden. It is true that steps have been taken at various levels by both organisations, but it is also true that the action taken - frequently as a result of individual initiative - lacks co-ordination and planning. Clear delimitation of the tasks incumbent upon the associations, on the one hand, and upon the unions, on the other, is still needed.

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(1) See report No. 5.
(2) See report No. 4.

Direct or indirect action by both the associations and the unions can moreover be of major importance in the formulation of government decisions and the establishment of long-term plans concerning the adaptation of immigrants.

There is no doubt regarding the responsibilities of enterprise in certain sectors. Specific and technical training in each branch of industry, accident prevention and post-entry training for higher levels of responsibility, should be situated within the competence of individual firms, whereas primary education and basic occupational training would appear to be matters for the state. The debatable case regarding the provision of infrastructures, equipment and services is another matter.

The necessary elements, in terms of quality and quantity, for the planned guidance of emigrant manpower towards areas with the heaviest labour demand could be provided by the organisations concerned in co-operation with both the employers' associations and the unions.

After the presentation of each case study, whether concerned with internal or international migration, the authors were frequently asked whether any form of co-operation had been established in each particular case between the employers and the unions, and if so, what the results had been. The importance of such co-operation, whatever the economic, social or cultural context, and the positive results achieved, were demonstrated particularly by the Dutch case, the case of the Puerto Ricans in New York, and the case of Israel, where the union proved to be an extremely valuable link between the employers and the community.(1)

It cannot however be said for the moment that the unions have promoted any effective action in the field of internal migration, except in isolated cases. A certain tendency persists in unions to attack problems simply by pressing claims; secondly, as the union representatives at Wiesbaden admitted, the field in question is largely unexplored; finally, the unions do not always possess the necessary economic means or the possibility of co-operating with employers and the public authorities. Honest co-operation between the authorities, the employers and the unions is essential in all circumstances. It alone can ensure that rural and foreign migrants receive the same consideration and treatment as their fellows. (2)

Various situations were illustrated with regard to the attitude of ex-rural workers towards the unions. The union "absenteeism" of the Canadian workers at Orangeville was mentioned, as also the rigid attitude of permanent protest and the absence of idealogical convictions of the Sicilian workers, and the assiduity of the French workers of Haute-Savoie. Regarding the latter, it was stated that their response was such as to raise the possibility of a new union force in France, based on ex-rural workers, and which could represent an element of progress. (1) Experience in Italy has in many cases been totally positive: it is in fact the ex-rural workers in the large cities of the North who seem to have taken up the tradition of the labour movement in these cities.

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(1) See case study No. 2, case study No. 7, "The Puerto Rican workers in New York" by Lois Gray, and case study No. 6, "The town of Deemona, Israel", by Rivka Bar Yosef.

(2) See report No. 5.

This is again a question of a choice of values, which depends on the social-cultural context from which the workers originated. The observations made by the unions in this respect are generally valid: "... When first going into industrial life, the former peasants retain an individualistic tradition which makes them under-estimate the advantages of community action. Whether or not they subsequently take part in trade union activities depends not on their origin, but on the type of firm they work in. The higher its level of industrialisation, the more they will incline towards collective action. The higher their position, the more they will feel involved as members of a class". (2)

It was finally observed that solidarity in the event of strikes is no indication of effective union participation. Importance was however attached to what was reported concerning a strike of ex-rural workers in Israel, although the strike itself may not have been justified from several points of view: "... But, in the case of the workers involved, it demonstrated a voluntary discipline and ability of autonomous organisation, which are social traits, necessary in a modern society".(3)

CONCLUSIONS

The following is a brief summary of the problems which emerged from the subjects dealt with during the Wiesbaden seminar:

First and foremost, there is a lack of data concerning the volume of migratory movements. Not even the I.L.O. seems to have any direct statistics on the transfer from agriculture to industry, except concerning Sweden. So far as other countries are concerned, even those in which international migration is very substantial, indirect information is the only basis of operation.

The lack of quantitative data affects qualitative application in that generalisations cannot be made. Consequently, even detailed studies of specific situations will remain ends in themselves, until such time as the information they contain can be applied to situations elsewhere.

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(1) See case studies Nos. 1 and 3, and supplementary document No. 2.
(2) See report No. 5.
(3) See case study No. 6.

In particular, the case studies discussed at Wiesbaden relate to only one of the modes of manpower transfer from agriculture to industry: the decentralisation of industry to rural areas. The problems encountered in the adaptation of ex-rural immigrants in receiving communities were, therefore, not examined during the seminar.

Yet this aspect of adaptation is extremely important, for it is here that the major problems are encountered in both social and cultural adaptation, which in turn determine the effective participation of the immigrant in the social, political and economic life of the receiving community.

Adaptation to work in the technical and psychological sense was, however, closely examined.

Both these aspects of the adjustment process raise problems that cannot be solved solely by action on manpower.

If the workers are asked to adapt themselves to industrial organisation and to accept its technologies and the system, industrial organisation must also be asked, firstly: to make it possible for ex-rural manpower to adjust itself, and secondly, to adapt its own policy to the reality of ex-agricultural manpower, within the limit of production requirements and structure.

An element that must be borne in mind, particularly in cases of decentralisation, is the dynamic interdependence which links industry to the community in which it is installed and functions. Indeed, while industry influences the structure and relationships of the community, the community's social system affects the activity of the industry. The ties joining each firm to its surrounding community, and beyond the latter to the political and economic system of a larger society, are many indeed: the balance of the region depends on the equilibrium maintained in these relationships.

As the centre of economic activity, the factory is regarded by the inhabitants of the community as the centre of power. It is for this reason that they expect industry to meet all expectations, and to solve every problem.

Thus, the active participation of the population in the life of the community through its other institutions, which, together with industry, constitute its social tissue, may well represent an important element of balance.

Social participation by the inhabitants of areas being industrialised or immigrants in urban communities is another problem: integration into the new social system is a prerequisite for its solution.

Social and cultural adaptation, integration, and assimilation, were all frequently discussed at the seminar.

A policy of integration pre-supposes the existence of implements for its application. Action in this field should therefore take the form of social planning for the creation of the necessary structures for (a) assistance of the adaptation process (reception centres, information, adult education, social centres, etc.) and (b) promotion of contact, on a parity basis, between urban and ex-rural groups.

Finally, the economic aspect which is implicit in migratory movements, although frequently touched upon in discussions, received no more than mention of the problems involved. The question of the cost of migratory movements thus remains open, and consequently also that of the cost of urbanisation and the distribution of these costs amongst the social partners involved in the process started by migration.

The responsibility of the social partners was nonetheless stressed: the process of adaptation cannot be successful without the participation and co-operation at all levels of the communities, employers, and the unions.

It now remains to be seen how the methods of practical application and the guiding principles can be translated into terms of action.

Part II

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

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INTRODUCTION

The seminar held at Wiesbaden, after discussing both the internal and international migration of rural workers into industry or tertiary activities, found that the problems and techniques of occupational and social adaptation were strikingly similar. It has, therefore, not been easy to divide the final report of this seminar into two distinct sections, one on internal migration and the other on international migration. We have nevertheless tried to avoid repetition or the creation of artificial or illogical divisions and to include in this second section the papers and discussions dealing more especially with international migration.

The seminar provided a forum for the exchange of information, experience and attitudes with regard to :

1. The present state of international migration of rural workers in Europe, Israel and the United States.
2. The different factors which seem to influence techniques of adaptation.
3. The techniques for adapting international migrants of rural origin to an industrial environment.
4. The role of employers' associations and workers' unions and their affiliated agencies in introducing and applying the techniques of adaptation.

It should be stressed that the object of the seminar was to study the practical measures already taken, or to be taken, by the employers and trade unions especially. Attention therefore centred mainly on methods of adaptation. The rapid survey of international migration supplied the framework in which these methods are applied. In studying these techniques, however, the participants had to refer to a range of problems and questions, either to justify a particular technique, to explain its success or failure, or to show the various political, economic and other interests which sometimes have to be reconciled in order to obtain complete agreement on what has to be done. All these problems were mentioned during the seminar so that participants should be aware of their existence, but no attempt was made to discuss in detail the different alternatives or the areas of agreement and disagreement.

In concentrating more on a thorough study of adaptation techniques, the organisers and the participants gathered valuable material, which already provides the outlines of a practical guide on adaptation to help employers, trade unions and any other parties concerned with international migrants, as well as countries of present and future immigration and emigration. It is only possible in this report to summarise or give extracts from the methods of adaptation which were presented and, in conclusion, to define what should be done by the employers' organisations, and trade unions, in the light of the various points raised during the seminar.

This section is based on the same sources as the first section of the report, together with those case studies presented to the seminar which refer exclusively to international migration. (1)

1. THE SITUATION

1.1 The migratory streams

Although the seminar dealt principally with the intra-European migratory movement, the British participants provided an opportunity of discussing migration from other continents whose people are coming to Europe in increasing numbers. The excellent introductory document by the International Labour Office, as well as other papers and interventions pointed out that, in future, reserves of manpower for the European economy will be found in other continents. Consequently, the adaptation of non-European manpower becomes a question of immediate concern. For a short time the participants turned their attention from European migration to the very interesting and instructive cases of migration to Israel of Jews originating from Afro-Asiatic rural countries, and the migration to New York of Puerto Rican rural workers. In this way, it was possible to compare situations apparently diverse but fundamentally similar, and to get a clearer insight into the situation in Europe, which has changed from a continent of departure to one of reception and is experiencing unprecedented manpower mobility within its boundaries. Information about intra-European mobility from the quantitative point of view was given to the seminar by the I.L.O. as from 1958; "there were two reasons for this: first, because statistical series covering the earlier period from the end of the war to 1957 were published in "International migrations, 1945-1957" (study published by the I.L.O. in 1959), and secondly because international migration inside Europe mainly developed after 1958. (1)

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(1) The following should be added to the list of papers mentioned at the beginning of the first section:
Case study No. 5: "The Buderusschen Eisenwerke, Wetzlar, Germany", by Georg Mai.
Case study No. 6: "The town of Deemona, Israel", by Rivka Bar Yosef.
Case study No. 7: "The Puerto Rican workers in New York, United States", by Lois Gray.
Case study No. 8: "Foreign workers in Luxembourg", by François Olivieri.
Case study No. 9: "Foreign workers in Germany", by Heinz Richter.
Case study No. 10: "Monarch Master Manufacturing Ltd., Canada", by the Canadian Business and Industry Advisory Committee.

Section I. Emigration

1. The main countries of emigration

The main flow of emigration has been from the southern countries, where manpower is still in surplus compared with employment vacancies. Surplus manpower is mainly if not exclusively to be found in agriculture, where there is generally unemployment and especially underemployment. The countries concerned are Spain, Greece, the southern part of Italy and the islands, Portugal and, more recently, Turkey.

A few years ago, Italy was still practically the only important source of continental emigration; until 1958, Spain had dealt only with transoceanic emigration, while Greek continental emigration accounted for only 25 per cent of the total permanent departures from that country.

As will be seen in greater detail in the next paragraph, the greater continental movement was due to the increased manpower requirements of the more industrialised countries of Europe. Tables 3, 7, 10 and 13 in Annex show this increase for the above-mentioned countries with the exception of Turkey, for which no information is available. The increase in Italian emigration was especially high in 1960 and 1961, whereas there was a decline in 1962 the extent of which could not be precisely estimated as the figures for that year were not comparable with those for the preceding years. Spanish emigration has increased more than sixfold since 1959 and Greek emigration is almost ten times greater. The tables also show that the countries of destination are the Federal Republic of Germany, Switzerland and France, and to a lesser extent, Belgium, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. The rapid increase in the number of countries receiving Spanish emigrants will be noted.

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(1) Bibliographical note : these statistics were taken from the "Statistical Yearbooks" published in the countries concerned, sometimes supplemented by information published in the monthly statistical bulletins issued from the same sources. The following additional sources should be mentioned: Federal Republic of Germany: "Ausländischer Arbeitnehmer", published by the Bundesanstalt für Arbeitsvermittlung und Arbeitslosenversicherung, Nuremberg; France: Bulletin statistique du travail et de la sécurité sociale, Direction générale du travail et de la main-d'oeuvre, Ministry of Labour; Netherlands: Soziale Maand-statistiek, published by the Bureau of Statistics; Italy and Luxembourg: information supplied by the respective Ministries of Labour; United Kingdom: Table 30 contains information published by the Ministry of Labour and Table 31 was based on information published by the Home Office. For the Federal Republic of Germany, see also: Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Sozialordnung: Arbeits- und Sozialstatistische Mitteilungen.

Tables 5, 8, 12 and 14 show the migrants' regions of origin. This information cannot be given any cut and dried interpretation as some of the workers from urban centres probably come from the outskirts of big towns and are therefore of rural origin; conversely, workers from agricultural regions may come sometimes from large urban centres. In any case, the Tables show that only a minority come from the industrialised areas and urban centres of the countries in question. In Greece, only 14 percent of the workers came from Athens during the period under review. (1)

In Spain, Madrid and Barcelona accounted for barely 11.5 per cent of total emigration. In Portugal, Lisbon and Oporto contributed a mere 3 per cent towards emigration. In Italy, the agricultural and underdeveloped areas in the South and the islands, together with Venetia, contributed 83 per cent towards emigration. The three most industrialised regions (Piedmont, Lombardy and Liguria) accounted for 3 per cent of the emigrants.

Tables 4 and 11 contain the only data available on emigrants' occupations. In Italy and Spain, agricultural workers accounted for some 33 and 60 per cent respectively; this category of emigrants has shrunk in Spain from 90 to 50 per cent. A large number of Spanish emigrants stated that they worked in the manufacturing industries, mining and quarrying, as well as in the services; in Italy, the largest groups were bricklayers, building labourers and domestic staff. When considering these figures, it should be remembered that the occupation given by emigrants when leaving their country is sometimes what they have actually been doing and sometimes what they want to do in the country of destination.

Tables 6, 9, 11 and 13 give a breakdown of migrants by sex. The proportion of women among Spanish emigrants has gradually increased from 4 per cent in 1959 to 18 per cent in 1962. The same is true for Greece where the proportion rose from 19 per cent in 1958 to 30 per cent in 1961. In Portugal, on the other hand, the percentage of female emigrants was 29 in 1960 but only 16 in 1961. The majority of women who emigrated probably belonged to a migrant worker's family; in any event, little seems to be known about the emigration of female workers. In the case of Italy, the figures given are known to refer to housewives, who have never exceeded 4 per cent of total emigration per annum.

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(1) Unfortunately, Salonika is included in the figures supplied for Macedonia as a whole.

Only Spain has given any information with regard to the age of the emigrants: the largest age-group is 25 to 55, followed by 15 to 24; the number of emigrants aged 54 and over was relatively high (see Table 6).

2. Other countries of emigration

Mention should be made of certain countries where migration has been on a smaller scale. Some of these countries are both countries of emigration and centres of immigration. It is not therefore surprising to find them again when discussing immigration.

Finland has only a small emigration (440 in 1958, 370 in 1959 and 255 in 1960), mainly to the other Nordic countries. In Belgium, a country of immigration, emigration has increased appreciably in recent years; it is mainly directed towards the neighbouring countries and particularly affects the non-industrial occupations. The Netherlands is in a similar position and emigration is directed towards the neighbouring countries; it rose from 3,555 in 1958 to 4,159 in 1960; women accounted for about 40 per cent of this movement. There is also an emigration movement in Norway, mainly towards the other Nordic countries, which involved 7,475 workers in 1958 and 7,294 in 1959.

Section II. Immigration

As mentioned in the preceding paragraph, the demand for manpower in the European countries with the most pronounced industrial structure increased to such an extent that they had to bring in more and more foreign workers and sometimes even workers from other continents. These movements have always taken place, however, under unilateral, bilateral or multilateral arrangements which, as we know, have been applied by the countries concerned. (e.g. group of countries belonging to the Nordic Labour Market, the European Economic Community or the O.E.C.D.). The regulations are based on the principle of the protection of the home labour market and they restrict immigration or the employment of foreign workers to those cases where it has not been possible to fill a vacancy by a national worker or a foreign worker already resident in the country.

1. The main countries of immigration

The employment of foreign manpower has developed over the last few years and has been particularly prevalent in the Federal Republic of Germany (Tables 15 and 16) and Switzerland (Tables 34 and 35). In the Federal Republic, annual immigration increased sevenfold between 1958 and 1962 and the number of workers employed increased fivefold over the same period. In Switzerland, the annual number of work permits issued for the first time almost doubled over this same period, while the official census of foreign workers showed an increase of 75 per cent with the result that they now account for more than 25 per cent of the total labour force. In France, permanent immigration only began to increase in 1961 (Table 21). The same is true for Belgium (Table 19). In Luxembourg (Tables 24 and 26), the position is more or less stationary, although the number of foreign workers employed in 1962 amounted to 20 per cent of the total manpower employed. In Sweden (Table 32), the number of foreign workers employed rose by 25 per cent between 1959 and 1962. In the United Kingdom (Tables 30 and 31), the number of foreign workers employed increased by about 20 per cent between 1958 and 1961 but fell in 1962 by about 10 per cent.

With regard to the countries of origin of foreign manpower, the Tables concerning the countries of immigration bring out even more clearly the observations in the preceding paragraph, particularly in respect of Greek and Spanish emigration. In the absence of information on Turkish emigration, which is in any case of relatively recent date, certain statistics in the Tables on immigration show the contribution of this country to economic growth in Europe.

Foreign workers were mainly employed in the economic sectors suffering from shortages, which were more or less the same in the receiving countries: agriculture, mining, building, metallurgy, domestic service and, occasionally, transport and textiles. Vacancies generally occured in the relatively arduous occupations that national workers did not willingly take up and which they tended to avoid, especially agriculture and mining. At the same time, these were occupations which required more physical stamina than occupational skill. Nevertheless, a number of skilled foreign workers were employed in metallurgy and metal manufactures and even in building. With regard to agriculture, immigration in most cases made it possible to compensate at least partially for the nation-wide drift from the land; but the contribution of foreign manpower to this sector has tended to diminish in all the receiving countries; industry, and to a lesser extent, services, have absorbed the vast majority of foreign workers (Tables 17, 20, 23, 24, 29, 32, 34 and 36).

Of the workers employed in the Federal Republic of Germany as at 31st May, 1962, 18 per cent were women (Table 18). In Belgium, the number of work permits granted to women (Table 20) accounted for 27 per cent of the total in 1958 and 44 per cent, 46 per cent and 43 per cent in the three following years respectively; they were mainly employed in the manufacturing industries and services. In France, the number of women brought in and given employment (Table 22) between 1958 and 1960 rose from 9 to 18 per cent of the total. In Luxembourg (Table 24), 82 per cent of the foreign workers employed in 1962 were men. In Switzerland, the percentage of women in the official census of foreign workers in 1962 (Table 35) was the highest for the period concerned: 31 per cent.

The employment of women in this country is particularly prevalent in the textiles and clothing industries, as well as in domestic service, where they outnumber men, and in the hotel and food industries. In the Netherlands, the number of work permits issued to women fell from 26 per cent of the total in 1960 to 18 per cent in 1962 (Table 29); they were mainly employed by the textiles and clothing industries and in domestic service.

Details as to the age breakdown of migrants are much more scarce, being available only for the Federal Republic of Germany (Table 18) and France (Table 22). In the Federal Republic of Germany, nearly 61 per cent of the workers employed at 31st May, 1962, belonged to the 21-24 age-group; 53.5 per cent of the women also belonged to this group. Next came the 35-44 age-group for men (18.4 per cent) and the under-21 age-group for women (24.6 per cent). In France, which can produce figures only for the 1958-1960 period, the 25-29 age-group is the largest (28.3 per cent); the 20-24 age-group comes next (22.2 per cent), followed by the 30-34 age-group (17.9 per cent). It is interesting to note that the proportion of the number of workers over 50 years old was 1.5 per cent.

2. Other countries of immigration

This account would be incomplete if no mention was made of the other countries which have experienced an immigration movement. These were, first of all, Austria, which recruited Spanish workers in 1962 as a result of a bilateral agreement; this is probably the beginning of more extensive immigration. In Denmark, foreign immigration amounted to 1,488 people in 1959, 2,090 in 1960 and 2,069 in 1961; the proportion of women among these immigrants was respectively 62 per cent, 60 per cent and 58 per cent. Part of this flow comes from Norway and Sweden, but most of the other European countries have also contributed. Finally, in Norway, for which information is only available for 1958 and 1959, immigration attained 7,000 to 8,000 workers for each of these two years. As at 31st May, 1961, some 14,750 foreign workers were employed in this country, including 10,270 men.(1)

In addition to the intra-European stream there is a sizeable immigration to continental Europe from North Africa, Black Africa and Asia. Even Latin-American workers have made an appearance on the European labour market. Immigrants to the United Kingdom come from all the Commonwealth countries, but are mainly West Indians, Hindus and Pakistanis. The extra-European immigration into the United Kingdom exceeds European migration (not including the Irish migration). "In fact, in the ordinary course of events, the number of alien workers in the country is small and their presence excites little public interest and presents virtually no problem.

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(1) See report of the I.L.O. (Appendix 1)

"In contrast, the considerable entry of Commonwealth citizens in the last ten years has aroused public interest. There are now over 500,000 immigrants from other parts of the Commonwealth living in Britain, few of whom have been there for more than ten years, and many for less than three years. Their claim to entry has been simply that they are Commonwealth citizens, and consequently it is difficult to make special provision for them without introducing an element of discrimination, which everybody wishes to avoid". (1)

"The Commonwealth Immigrants Act of 1962 regulated entry by establishing a system of entry permits which are given to persons with special skills or with jobs previously arranged, students and dependants of existing residents, with an additional unspecified number of permits given to those who fulfill none of these conditions, the quota varying according to employment and other factors. In the first year of the Act's operation 333,343 Commonwealth citizens entered the country, (298,720 embarked. Net intake: 34,523) and from the moment of entry were free to take up employment without condition".(1)

The paper referring to the United Kingdom mentions the number of migrants who have returned to the country of origin. This return of intra or extra-European migrants after a stay of several years is a widespread phenomenon. The reason for migration to Israel is reputed to be ideological but "it would be extremely naïve to suggest that the ideological factor is identical with the personal-motivational factor... the immediate causes are often political and economic...thè desire to escape from poverty - a well-known motivating factor for migration all over the world - is an important driving force in this case as well".(2) This is especially the case of immigrants to Israel, from countries which are still at the pre-industrial stage. Although they are not agricultural workers "the difficulties arising out of the process of absorption of this group have much in common with the problems of integration of rural groups in the urban setting of industrial societies."(2) This group included the large numbers who have immigrated since 1948 from the Arab countries of North Africa as well as from Asia and India. Referred to as "Eastern Jews" they now represent 30 per cent of the population of Israel (2,500,000).

"Migration from Puerto Rico began in small trickles even before the United States annexed the island in 1898. It grew in the 1920's when foreign immigration restrictions created labour shortages, and declined sharply during the depression years of the 1930's. Since 1946 the migration stream has become a major source of labor supply for the Metropolitan New York area."

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(1) See: "United Kingdom" country report.

(2) See case study No. 6.

"In 1960, according to the United States census, more than 600,000 persons of Puerto Rican birth or parentage lived in New York City, representing approximately 1 out of 13 in the total population. While the number of in-migrants has fluctuated from year to year in response to employment opportunities, reaching a peak of more than 51,800 in 1953 and registering a net loss in 1961, on the average 25,000 newcomers from Puerto Rico have been added to the population of New York City each year since 1950. In addition, thousands more have visited the city, worked for a short period of time, and returned to their native island.

These migrants, like their fellow Americans, are extremely mobile. (Each year one of five persons in the United States moves his home and one out of twenty-five moves across state lines). Puerto Ricans, with the rights of United States citizenship, are free to enter and leave the continental labour market at will. However, in contrast to their counterparts from rural southern and western United States, migrants from Puerto Rico are handicapped by a language difference. Less than one-third speak English at the time of arrival. In relation to the New York City labour force, they are disavantaged by lower levels of education (the median years of school completed by newly arrived migrants is 6 years) and lack of skills... An Airport Survey (conducted by the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico Department of Labour since 1957) indicates that recent migrants have come mainly from rural areas; many are young and without work experience; the major category of previous employment, particularly for men, has been agricultural labour."(1)

1.2 The state of the workers of rural origin

The state of rural workers who emigrate into a foreign industrial environment is similar to that of the under-privileged classes of rural origin in the early days of the industrial era. This condition dictates the path to follow for the adaptation and the social and occupational betterment of the migrants.

The seminar approved the definitions and the descriptions of the state of rural migrants, as set forth in the various papers. To cite one of the representatives of German employers - "Frequently, the foreign worker comes from a rural job of limited scope in a completely rural environment and has only a primary education and little or no vocational training. We shall see therefore that problems arise in connection with adaptation to the social structure of a highly industrialised society... the foreigners have been removed from their former surroundings and must find their way in a world which is completely strange to them at the start. This does not apply only to externals, such as the way of living, climate, accomodation and language, but also to the very outlook on life, customs, morals, religion, politics, economic and social outlook. Generally speaking, foreigners arrive in the receiving country with great expectations and plenty of good will..."

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(1) See case study no. 7.

"...Migrants frequently come from surroundings where there has been no gradual evolution from an artisan to an industrial economy... They frequently emerge from a rural environment into a highly mechanised modern industrial state which has been developed in industrial countries over the last one and a half centuries. It is as well to recognise the gulf separating the migrant from his new environment, since it is symptomatic of the problem of their adaptation to the receiving country." (1)

This was confirmed by a trade union official from the same country: "The Italian worker arrives in a country whose language is foreign to him. He comes from a rural environment into a highly industrialised society. Climatic conditions are entirely different from the ones he is used to. Last but not least, he has been uprooted from the shelter of his family and friends and transposed into an environment entirely alien to him in its different social structure. These changes create problems, the effects of which we could not properly assess at that time." (2) To cite an employer on the occupational aspect of the condition of the migrants: "Usually, the newcomers are taken round the factory by an engineer and the interpreter. It is only natural that at this point the first mental shock is occasioned by a series of completely new experiences. Whether it is the vast mass of machinery, the ramifications of the various processes in the case of the assembly lines, or the noise, the dust, the molten metal brought up in huge ladles and poured into the waiting moulds, everything is strange and new... Again and again the inferiority complexes arising from this first tour of the works must be eliminated." (3)

The migrants of the Commonwealth also "are mainly unskilled, and some - chiefly from India and Pakistan - come from a village background. The problems that have received attention are those affecting their social integration rather than specific problems of industrial adaptation." (4) According to a trade union specialist, the "Eastern" migrants to Israel, "besides the lack of technological skill and low level of education ... are burdened with additional disadvantages, such as undernourishment, lack of elementary knowledge of hygiene, high birth rate, extended kinship obligations and behavioural habits inconsistent with the accepted norms of modern societies." (5)

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(1) See report No. 3, Part II.
(2) See case study No. 9.
(3) See case study No. 5.
(4) See "United Kingdom" country report.
(5) See case study No. 6.

One research worker working for the trade unions stated: "The immigrant worker from the non-industrial countries faces a triple crisis. Firstly, it is safe to assume that he changes his occupation. Secondly, he has to adapt to a new social-organisational framework. Thirdly, he has to assimilate new orientations and concepts which are not only unfamiliar but are often incompatible with former habits and values." (1)

In Europe, as in the Near East or New York, the state of the rural migrants is originally the same. But the most complete description of this state is to be found in the paper on the Puerto Ricans. Additional information was given by some participants who mentioned that the migrants in Europe suffer from discrimination on the railways, in renting homes, and in other ways. To cite the findings of an industrial relations specialist on the subject of Puerto Ricans: "While the journey from Puerto Rico to New York is only three and a half hours by jet, the transition from life in this small tropical island to the complex urban environment of the world's largest Metropolitan centre requires time and painful effort. As newcomers, Puerto Ricans are relegated to the worst housing; their children attend overcrowded schools. They enter the labour market at the bottom of the occupational hierarchy and are the first to suffer from unemployment. With their language handicap and naïveté about the customs of urban living, they are natural prey to unscrupulous operators: landlords who charge high rents and refuse to maintain housing at minimum standards of health and decency; "easy-credit" salesmen who persuade innocents to "buy now and pay later" at two or three times the value of the merchandise; insurance and finance companies which exact exorbitant fees; employers who violate the wage and hour laws; and labour unions which collect substantial dues and initiation fees without rendering service. The Puerto Rican migrant faces a difficult environment. On the job, he must learn his way around, acquire the habits and skills of industrial work, seek redress for grievances, and find a way to earn a living wage. Off the job, he must locate adequate housing for himself and his family, master the ins and outs of a maze of community facilities, and learn to exercise his rights as a citizen. In short he must adapt to a whole new way of life." (2)

1.3 Conclusion

The traditional migratory stream of Europeans towards the overseas countries is now reversed. An intra-European migration mainly of southern European rural workers of both sexes of working age has supplanted the overseas movement. In some countries, e.g. Italy and the Netherlands, both overseas emigration and migration within Europe exist.

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(1) See case study No. 6.
(2) See case study No. 7.

Former colonial powers and other European countries have experienced an immigration of rural workers coming from former colonies in other continents.

To adapt themselves to the large industrial and urban centres of Europe, the migrant rural workers have to bridge a socio-cultural gap which varies according to the distance between the countries of origin and arrival. This explains why countries with large-scale extra-continental immigration, which raises very serious problems, consider that the adaptation of migrants from the same continent "excites little public interest and presents virtually no problem".

A large proportion of migrants in Europe return to their country of origin either within or outside Europe. But, during their temporary stay abroad, the question of adaptation has to be solved. This applies equally to migrants classed as aliens and to those considered as nationals of the host-country.

The question of adaptation of rural migrants (whether temporary or permanent) arises again in the case of Israel and New York. This means that the present migrationary flows which have shaken Europe are not restricted to this continent alone. The status of rural migrants in both national and foreign industrial environments being initially that of an under-privileged class, occupational and social adaptation forms part of the general problem of improving the lot of these newly-formed working class groups in democratic industrial societies. Conversely, the return of rural workers to the under-developed countries, after having experienced working and social life in these industrial societies, ties migration and adaptation to the equally universal question of the economic and social development of the countries of emigration. The return of their migrant workers should benefit these countries provided that they succeed in satisfactorily re-absorbing them.

Having surveyed the migratory flows and the status of the migrants, the seminar then considered the situation caused by these migratory flows.

2. THE PROBLEMS

2.1 Introductory note

Implicitly or explicitly, the seminar identified certain aspects of present-day migrations. It is clearly impossible to deal with the techniques of adaptation without referring to the interests of the countries of departure and arrival with regard to migration and adaptation; moreover, the attitude of the migrants themselves or of the people in the host countries was cited by several members as an argument for or against a technique, as a reason for its success or failure, or for seeking other alternatives. Finally, certain points were raised which, although outside the general scope of the discussion, deserve special mention, even if no agreement was reached on them.

The discussion, while not exhaustive, enabled the participants to get a general view and to assess the merits of the various adaptation techniques. In part 3 of this section of the general report, it is therefore possible to present the techniques considered as valid, having first reviewed participants' contributions on the following points :

- The interests of countries of emigration and immigration;
- Attitudes of migrants and of the people in the receiving country;
- Special questions.

2.2 The interests of the emigration and immigration countries

2.2.1 Emigration countries, in Europe and elsewhere, have gradually become aware of the influence of the demographic factor in economic development, the amount of capital lost in educating those who emigrate permanently, and the importance of giving social and vocational instruction to the under-employed working population in order to stimulate development. For these reasons, countries prefer temporary emigration under which former rural workers return to their home country having acquired experience of life and work in an industrial country. Incidentally, emigration eases the pressure on the home labour market and the foreign currency earned by the migrants contributes towards the balance-of-payments and the raising of living standards in the country of emigration.

Temporary emigration for training purposes must necessarily consist of unskilled workers and must be kept within bounds, e.g. the annual surplus of unskilled labour, plus the reserves of unemployed and under-employed. Certain circles in the countries of emigration are, however, opposed to letting these reserves go abroad, even temporarily, for the following reasons : some countries experience seasonal shortages of unskilled workers in agriculture, public works or the building industry, which create production difficulties by raising seasonal and other wages and thus affecting the general level of prices. Those opposed to emigration include the employers of the countries of emigration, who are particularly afraid of the consequences of even a temporary departure of rural workers employed not in agriculture, but in a craft, and whose skill represents a certain asset to the country of origin.

The trade unions of the countries of emigration, however, are favourable to the exodus of surplus rural and even urban labour because this tends to relieve the labour market, besides strengthening their position in relation to the employers. All parties nevertheless agree that the emigration of the workers should be gradually replaced by the establishment of foreign industries, as from a social standpoint emigration is very costly.

It is in the interest of the countries of origin to encourage the adaptation of migrants in order to reduce the social cost of either temporary or permanent emigration. This results in financial commitments which these countries attempt to transfer to the countries of immigration. Several of the emigration countries, however, pay part of the costs of information, selection and travelling expenses of the migrants as far as their frontiers and back. They also pay costs of assistance to families who are left behind in the native country or to families or migrants who are stranded abroad. Finally, these countries recognise that it is in their own interests to pay costs for re-integration of the migrants on their return.

With reference to the preliminary training or complete training of migrants for employment abroad, the countries of origin consider that the cost should be borne by the immigration countries. Some emigration countries are now beginning to provide social indoctrination for certain categories of emigrant. Although the geographical position and the development prospects of the emigration countries differ, the above considerations apply to most of these countries, but the adaptation costs are usually borne by the most advanced countries.

2.2.2 The immigration countries have recourse to foreign workers to meet their labour shortages and even, in some cases, to provide population for their country (France, Wallonie, Israel). Except in the case of Israel, foreign workers are admitted only if no national is available for the vacancy concerned. The trade unions insist on the observance of this principle because they fear that "unrestricted" immigration might lead to lowering of wages as a result of competition between foreign and the native-born workers. It is, however, considered in the interests of the immigration country and of its workers, to use immigrants for jobs which nationals are no longer prepared to do, on the grounds that such jobs are essential to economic growth and the raising of living standards. The immigrants thus contribute both as producers (whose training has been paid for by another country) and also as consumers.

Nevertheless, certain groups of countries have adopted free entry for migrants from countries belonging to the group. As these countries have more or less stable economies and population, there is little likelihood of a sudden overflow of migrants (Scandinavian countries, E.E.C.). Other countries have allowed freedom of movement by virtue of their political structures (e.g. United Kingdom, Commonwealth), but controls have been introduced whenever immigration has reached a certain level (United Kingdom, Switzerland). These controls are designed not so much to protect the home labour market, which is not in the least menaced as there is a shortage of workers, but to reduce the overheating of the economy and/or to relieve strains caused by "saturation", i.e. too large a proportion of immigrants in the total population (e.g. 25 per cent of the labour force in Switzerland).

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In conformity with the principle of protecting the home labour market, and in the interests of the employers, immigration may be resorted to so long as the economic situation is favourable. Immigration countries therefore usually avoid making employment contracts for periods of more than a year. These precautions make it possible to stem the flow of migrants if employment figures reveal a noticeable fall. One German trade union member asserted his preference for still shorter contracts or even for dropping the system of issuing contracts of employment, because in a few cases employers had been forced to dismiss nationals of their own country who were working without a contract, in favour of an immigrant whose contract had not yet expired. On the other hand, countries who wish to populate their territory are in favour of short contracts for the following reason: integration, which has been legalised by the issue of an extended residence permit, or naturalisation is granted to immigrants who have successfully overcome the difficulties of adaptation in the immigration country over several successive periods of temporary residence. In principle, this is the case in all countries, with the exception of Israel, even when the migrant is regarded as a citizen of the receiving country. During the probationary period, Puerto Ricans, for instance, must learn English to qualify for political rights. The immigration countries thus accept every immigrant as temporary and some countries agree eventually to absorb the better type of immigrant permanently.

In the matter of qualifications, the immigration countries cannot hope to recruit other than rural workers, i.e. agricultural workers coming from a pre-industrial economy.(1) But these countries need a certain percentage of skilled workers among the immigrants. Even if the rural worker (or one of the few urban workers who emigrate) happens to have some occupational skill, this rarely or never measures up to the standards of the immigration countries. To make use of this experience - especially in the handicraft sector - in the United Kingdom, the T.U.C. is relaxing its rules. It now allows immigrants who claim to possess a trade, to hold skilled trades on a trial basis as a means of improving their knowledge. The E.E.C.is compiling a glossary of trades equivalent to those in which emigration occurs, so as to make the best use of any rural migrants who may have some qualifications other than agricultural, and to prevent immigration countries from wasting any experience which the immigrants may possess. Nevertheless, both employers and trade unionists have recognised that to be of real use to these countries the emigrant must receive some training before departure, plus further courses on arrival in the host country. It is in the interest of the latter country also to shoulder the cost. (2)

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(1) See report No. 3.
(2) See paragraphs 3.2.4 and 3.3.3 below.

The return of fully qualified migrants to their countries of origin will help to speed up the development of these countries. (1)

These measures can only benefit both immigration and emigration countries if the emigration period is sufficiently long. The immigration countries hope that the immigrants will adapt themselves not only to the work but also to the social life and, if they are recognised as nationals, to the political life.

Some countries contribute to the cost of providing information and of preselection. The receiving countries are mainly responsible for selection, recruitment, transport from the frontier of the country of origin and the general arrangements for reception.

2.2.3 The confrontation of interests was not sufficiently investigated at the seminar, due to the lack of time, and participants were therefore not able to suggest compromises. The subjects suitable for comparison were:

1. The duration of the emigration (seasonal, temporary, permanent);
2. The numbers affected;
3. The occupational skill of the migrants (original trade and cost of training);
4. The sharing of the expenditure on measures for social adaptation of the migrants;
5. The conflict of interests between countries and even between social groups within the same emigration or immigration country.

The participants realised that conflict of interests has its effects on the immigrant and that it dictates the degree of development of adaptation techniques in each of the countries involved. The seminar, however, also considered another element in adaptation and the choice of techniques: i.e. the attitude of the migrants and the community of the host countries.

2.3 The attitude of migrants and of the receiving countries

2.3.1 Temporary migration is preferred by the majority of migrants in Europe, whether intra- or extra-European. (2) On the other hand, only a few Puerto Ricans emigrate to New York on a temporary basis.

Like the majority of Puerto Ricans, the Jews emigrate to Israel for a long period, or even for good.

There is seasonal intra-European migration into the building trade, public works and into certain industries and services (e.g. tourism).

The temporary nature of European migration does not mean that some migrants do not settle for good in the host country. It is well known that a large proportion of migrants who in the past have populated entire continents left their home countries with the intention of returning after many years of absence. The difference with the migratory flow directed towards Europe is that the migrants intend to be away for only a few years, and during this time they often return to the country of origin (holidays, elections, family events). (1) After a few years, they leave the receiving country for good. The probability of a permanent settlement abroad diminishes considerably. Moreover, the attraction of the countries of origin for this labour force, if not technically trained at least semi-skilled, becomes progressively stronger as these countries develop. (2)

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(1) See report No. 4.
(2) See report No. 4, and "United Kingdom" : "The extra-Europeans regard themselves as temporary visitors to the country ..."

This tempts the migrants to stay abroad on a temporary basis and explains why some of them are so keen to learn a trade abroad. (3)

The fact that the migrants to Europe regard their stay as temporary coincides with the interests of the countries of origin, although repeated returns to the home country after short periods abroad are not very advantageous to it. The countries of immigration, though regarding the migrants as "working visitors" (4) are worried that their offer to extend the migrants' stay in the interests of the receiving country is generally refused.

The employers and trade union representatives of the European immigration countries cited certain experiences which suggest that this tendency to make only a temporary stay in the receiving countries hampers the adaptation efforts made by these countries and greatly reduces the effectiveness of some of the methods.

2.3.2 The preparation and departure of migrants

Some members of the seminar felt that preparation and departure of the migrants was hampered by the attitude mentioned above. When going abroad "to see what it's like" (5) with the intention of staying a year or two, little importance is attached to information and the recruiting missions are by-passed; the emigrant goes as a "tourist" convinced that even if there are difficulties abroad he can easily put up with them for a comparatively short time. Other participants had noticed that those who use the recruiting missions also have this attitude of "going to see what it's like". This explains the fact, reported by one of the firms studied, which engages migrants through official channels only: one third of those recruited gave up in the first few trial months, broke their contract and returned to their own country. (6)

This attitude could be influenced by providing general information for them on emigration. This is a comparatively recent method, not yet sufficiently developed on which the effectiveness of direct information, pre-selection and recruitment depends. (1) Incidentally, after the introduction of freedom of movement in E.E.C., preliminary information is of primary importance in Italy. The British trade unions have also approved of this method and have begun to supply information to intending migrants through the medium of the trade unions and the administrative bodies concerning in the country of origin. (2) The method under review encourages the migrants to consult the official information and recruitment agencies. It helps the emigrants to take a firm decision without having to go abroad and "see for themselves". This avoids unnecessary risks of committing either the country of origin or the host country. Finally, this method helps in the adaptation of those who go to work abroad, whether or not they go through official channels.

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(1) See further on: Techniques of Adaptation, paragraph 3.4.1.
(2) See case study No. 9.
(3) See report No. 3. This reason seems to have been overlooked by the representatives of the receiving countries at the Wiesbaden seminar.
(4) Cf. the official German description of migrants "Gastarbeiter".
(5) See report No. 3.
(6) See case study No. 5.

Nevertheless, as the methods of adaptation must be considered as a whole, it is indispensable that the migrant should benefit also from other adaptation methods both at the preparation stage (3) and during residence abroad.

2.3.3 Migrants in the host country, being temporary residents, try to earn as much as possible in the shortest time so as to be able to return home and are indifferent to all efforts to introduce them into the social life of the foreign country. (4) This opinion was expressed by some of the representatives of European immigration countries who added that this refusal of the migrants to co-operate in the efforts made on their behalf had discouraged certain circles, whereas others had discovered methods which had been found to suit the migrants better. These new methods take advantage of mass communication media, adult education and welfare services for individuals, groups and communities. They are discussed in paragraphs 3.3.1 to 3.3.10 of the following section.

2.3.4 The initial reception of the migrants decides their future attitude. The interpreter has an important role in the initial reception, in adaptation to the place of work and lodgings and in other aspects of the life of the migrant. Some employer representatives considered that the role of the interpreter should be confined to interpretation (5), but it has been recognised that in practice the interpreter becomes a social worker. The representatives of the emigration countries and some trade unionists from the host countries insisted that interpreters should be social workers or experienced group-leaders, otherwise they might have a bad effect on the adaptation of migrants, even in some cases causing the migrant who had arrived with the intention of settling permanently in the foreign country to change his mind.

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(1) See below : Methods of Adaptation, paragraph 3.2.1.
(2) See "United Kingdom" country report.
(3) See below paragraphs 3.2.1 to 3.2.6.
(4) See case study No. 9., also "United Kingdom".
(5) See report No. 4.

An interpreter who is often an irresponsible former immigrant, with merely a smattering of the foreign language, may from the outset give new arrivals the impression, (rightly or wrongly) that they are not welcome in the new country and that it is not worth while staying for a long time or permanently. The results have been the reverse when the interpreter has been carefullychosen (official interpreters designated by the emigration countries, trade unionists of the countries of departure and reception, social workers etc.).

2.3.5 The results of courses in the language of the receiving country have not been encouraging whenever the courses have been given either by "interpreters" with little knowledge of the language or without teaching qualifications or by teachers with no experience of adult education. The participants from some of the European emigration countries noted that amongst the secondary motives of rural migrants in going abroad is very often a desire to learn the language, to know the country, to improve their minds and then to return home. This might suggest that the lack of enthusiasm for language courses is due to living and working conditions in the receiving country which may discourage any effort towards cultural improvement, as well as to inefficient methods. The third section of this report discusses the methods which seem to have given tangible results in Europe and elsewhere. The fact that these are the only methods which have succeeded with permanent migrants such as Puerto Ricans and Jews,(1) who also showed no enthusiasm for conventional methods, gave participants cause for reflection on the relation between temporary migration and this reluctance to learn the language, and in general to enter into the social life of the receiving country.

2.3.6 Initiation into the working environment is also influenced by the behaviour of those immigrant workers who regard themselves as merely temporary. Employers and trade unionists of one European country drew attention to the unduly fast rates established by migrants and the abnormal overtime worked by them to earn more money. However, the rate of absenteeism is lower than for the native-born workers in spite of the greater incidence of illness among migrants who tend to return to work before being completely fit, so as not to lose the wages or fringe benefits. Migrants are more accident prone; even when safety instructions are in their own language, accidents are still quite frequent. This is due to greater fatigue among migrants than among native-born workers. An employers' representative stated that this strain can be endured for a year or two, and then the weary migrant either returns home or takes an easier but much less well-paid job.(2) The wear and tear on the worker for the benefit of production caused a trade union participant from a European immigration country to ask for a revision of working conditions for the immigrants to bring them into line with the standard observed by the native-born workers. Representatives of the emigration countries supported this stand and asserted that, in their view, the migrants are practically forced to accept the faster rates of work, overtime and exhaustingly hard work.

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(1) See "Methods", paragraph 3.3.5 and case study No. 6.
(2) See case study No. 5.

If the "overheated" economy of the host countries did not induce the firms to offer overtime work, the migrants would not expect it. If the number of staff was increased and the overtime was spread over several shifts, the workers would be content with normal hours. But to reduce the "overheating" and to increase the staff would cut into profits. Firms, therefore, seem to profit from and even to encourage migrants in this attitude which results in exhaustion.

Then again, the migrants know that they are only allowed into the immigration country as long as industry has orders to meet. As there is no guarantee that this state of affairs will continue, they work at full stretch while it lasts. According to some participants, there is no inducement to the immigrants to save their strength for the future. Any attempt to spread their work over a period of time, to plan, or to settle down abroad for a few years, raises the question of founding a family or of reuniting a family, but the housing shortage makes this impossible.

The attitude of the temporary immigrant is both subjective and objective. It is dependent on the hazards of an international economy which regards the migrant as a unit of work rather than as a human being.

This discussion lead participants to put forward the idea of a flexible planning of international flows of labour and of special methods to persuade the migrants to accept less rigorous working conditions which will ensure their future well-being. The question then arises whether, without the overtime and the faster rate of work, the financial inducements would be sufficiently attractive to encourage the rural worker to migrate. (1)

2.3.7 Advancement and introduction to the social life constitutes a very strong ambition for the migrants and their families. The migrants refuse to remain a sub-proletariat. They want to be trained and to take part in the social life of the host country without having to give up their own basic cultural values. Although the methods of training described in paragraph 3.3.3 have proved their worth and were approved by the seminar, they have so far been used only on a limited scale. The representatives of the emigration countries stressed that when extending the use of these methods, certain categories of migrant should be given vocational training which would be useful on returning home (e.g. in agriculture for those who would return to the land). Training, which opens up prospects of advancement has a stabilizing effect on the migrant. On the other hand, in the absence of such prospects, the migrant will work at full stretch or will move to whichever firm is offering the highest wages so as to amass the savings which could give him a certain prestige and advancement in his own country. The escape from being a member of the sub-proletariat drives the migrant back to his own country.

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(1) See an example of a budget which is very attractive but open to discussion in case study No. 5. After deduction of daily expenses of the worker, there remained each month for his family DM 514.49.

Advancement includes introduction into the social life, participation in leisure time activities, and access to a family life and housing on a par with the native-born people. Some employers and trade union representatives from the immigration countries described experiences demonstrating the negative attitude of the migrants, e.g. refusal to join in leisure activities involving expense or to move to better but more expensive lodgings, because the primary concern is to economise so as to return to their own country as soon as possible. Other participants from immigration countries, however, described successes due to the use of better methods which are set out in the respective paragraphs of the third section.

2.3.8 It may be wondered whether a tendency to join trade unions is a result or a means of adaptation. Usually, the rural worker's first contact with the full meaning of trade unionism is in the host country. The European trade unionists find that these rural workers are not sufficiently interested in trade unionism; they are usually quite content to enjoy the benefits of trade union action without having to take part or subscribe. They consider thsmselves as "visitors" whose money is better saved than given to the trade union. The trade unions of Luxembourg place the blame for this attitude on the trade unions of the emigration countries, for neglecting to give the necessary trade union indoctrination to the emigrants. Other trade unions contact their counterparts in the countries of departure. The D.G.B. (Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund) has even opened up an office in Italy to inform rural emigrants about German trade unionism before their departure. The Trade Union Congress has made similar contacts with Commonwealth trade unions and New York trade unions with those of Puerto Rico. The result of these contacts has been the opening of trade union offices in the host country to help the immigrant. Trade unionists from the country of departure are often in charge of these offices. Other activities, such as the publication of newspapers in their own language, have also been undertaken.

There are two complementary methods of approach for integrating migrants into the unions. The first one treats the migrants as ordinary workers whose adaptation and integration into the union requires no special measures or techniques. In order to avoid discrimination between migrants and other workers, their problems are treated in the same way as those of the native-born workers.(1) The other line of approach is much in use in New York. In addition to general trade union activities, many special activities are undertaken, not only to bring migrants into the unions, but also to help them in individual, family and community adaptation and to achieve social and political advancement.

The trade unions have noticed that an "understanding approach backed by specific advice, or better still, action on the member's problem, contributes more than any other thing to building union loyalty".(2)

Even temporary migrants are not adverse to joining a union provided that the trade unions go out to get them, that their officials speak their language and deal with their specific problems, although these really come under the heading of social welfare. Trade union activities of this kind, especially in New York, are described in the third section. The migrants do not shun collective organisation which is adapted, or supposedly adapted, to their needs. This explains the presence of racket unions in New York which have grown up among the migrants because unions of good repute failed to take any special action on their behalf.(2) This also happened in the United Kingdom where the existence of unofficial trade union groups for Pakistanis has been reported. These are often bands of profiteers who exploit the migrants whilst catering for certain needs left unsatisfied by the official trade unions. In the Federal Republic of Germany, these groups sometimes act under the guise of immigrant associations. Similarly, Nazi or Communist political groups have recently sprung up in Germany which recruit migrants only.

There is only one way of combatting these groups, i.e. by providing specialised trade union action and welfare services for the migrants. The success of these methods in New York is confirmed by the large number of Puerto-Rican trade union members.

The right to vote in trade union meetings and to be elegible to hold office is extended to migrants in some countries. Elsewhere, migrants are only allowed to vote. Nevertheless, eligibility for office is essential to provide union officials from among the immigrants who will be better placed to deal with their own countrymen. Furthermore, the integration of this new type of worker will bring new blood into the trade unions.

Nevertheless, in some countries where the majority of the members in certain unions are migrants, the unions are reluctant to make them eligible for office.

Although Switzerland was not represented at the seminar, one of the members raised a point which is worrying the unions and other circles in the country where one worker in every four is a foreigner. Who is going to run the country if the migrants take over the unions?

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(1) See "United Kingdom" country report
(2) See case study No. 7

2.4 Special questions

2.4.1 The turnover of migrants reflects their attitude to work but it also provides a pointer to social adaptation in general. The seminar was particularly interested in the study on migration into Israel because it showed that occupational integration is a result of successful social integration. This study also showed the European members that turnover (besides certain other attitudes and reactions) arises not only in connection with temporary migrations but has a deeper significance. It is only by using the most suitable methods that the adaptation of rural workers to industrial society can be speeded up.

One member who was describing the rotation of the most advanced section of the migrants, proposed certain methods of stabilisation. In fact, some of the rural workers "have already some general education and perhaps an elementary practical knowledge of a craft. When they leave their own country, such workers aspire to learn a technical trade abroad, but they are employed on production-line or other simple jobs in the plant which require only attention and manual dexterity. They then feel it is not possible for them to "learn a trade", for "there are no trades" in Europe. Their only way to promotion is to attend vocational evening classes, and thus obtain a certificate of proficiency, which is appreciated in the receiving country and even more in their own. It would be useful to combine certain language classes with preliminary vocational training for such immigrants. The long weekend, which the migrant worker does not know what to do with, can be put to good use by helping such workers to achieve their desire for further training better suited to needs in their country of origin, which cannot be had by simply working in the shops. This type of rural migrant worker will thus derive satisfaction from his stay abroad and job at the factory.

If denied this satisfaction, he desperately searches for a firm where he can "learn a trade" that will serve him on returning to his home country. Most of the time of course he goes to the wrong places: in order to learn how to repair cars he may try to get into a big motor car factory, where he is put back to work on the production line. Disappointed, he tries to change firms again, and turnover proneness sets in.

Other migrant rural workers in this same category abandon any attempt to learn a trade and plan instead to accumulate a large nest egg as soon as they possibly can. They too will become restive and look for the firm paying the highest nominal wage. Accustomed upon leaving their country to regard higher income as the criterion, without realising that this goes hand in hand with higher expenses, they are quite ready to leave a factory, locality or country for quite small differences in pay. This rapid turnover of migrant rural manpower is harmful to the workers themselves, to employers and to the country of origin. Adequate techniques and measures to meet this situation have yet to be studied.

One such technique would be to offer migrant rural workers, whose ambition is to go back to the land when they go home, an opportunity to visit farms, mechanised agricultural centres, cattle markets, exhibitions of agricultural machinery and the like, or even to organise weekend or holiday training courses at district farm co-operatives. Such activities are valued by rural workers who have temporarily become industrial workers, and may have the effect of settling them in the factory or in the area, since they then feel that they are learning something which will be of value when they go back home.

In present-day intra-European migration, it is mainly the prospect of ultimate return which determines the behaviour of rural migrant workers. We must fall in with this same point of view if we are to help them adjust themselves, which means behaving in a manner acceptable to the host community while deriving satisfaction from their temporary stay abroad." (1) All this goes to show that an unduly fast turnover is due to inadequate reception and adaptation arrangements. It would, therefore, be vain, and even dangerous, to think that this difficulty could be solved in terms of administrative or even police action. Such was the reaction of some members to the proporal of employers in one of the immigration countries to set up an electronic ultra-rapid general card index of migrants, (2) giving firms the names of those who have broken their contracts with one employer to apply for a job in another firm. The "black-listing" could lead to abuse. The trade unions feared that the label of "instability" and "doubtful character" might be used as a cover for action against immigrants who took a particularly active part in collective and trade union action. The precedent of an unofficial "black-list" compiled by certain New York employers, but denounced by the regular trade unions, throws much light on the misuse of this system. (3)

2.4.2 Adaptation, integration, assimilation were all terms used at this seminar without any clear distinction being made between them. An effort to define the meaning of these terms has been made in the first section on internal migration. Here, the important thing is to ascertain the aims, whether conscious or not, of the countries of departure and reception of the migrants.

Complete assimilation takes more than one generation. Even in a country which favours assimilation and even if they spend most of their life there, first generation immigrants are always torn between the country of origin and the country of adoption. The socialisation of the migrant is determined during infancy and youth, that is, during the years before emigration. The rest of the life of the immigrant, however well he may be integrated in the receiving country, will be deeply influenced by these first formative years. This is borne out by the fact that, if possible, when he retires the migrant will return to his native country, even if it is at the other end of the world.

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(1) See report No. 3.
(2) See report No. 3, Part II.
(3) See case study No. 7.

Whether migration is temporary or permanent, there is only one possibility for the first generation of migrants: integration. But adaptation comes first. Rudimentary social and physical adjustment is essential, even for seasonal workers. For the workers considered as temporary, adjustment must go further so that the migrant may gradually be adapted, then integrated in the host country. From adjustment to integration, the process is one and the same. It would be a mistake to give up the attempt at integration on the pretext that the migrants are or feel themselves merely temporary. Incidentally, the integration of rural workers into an urban and industrial environment seems compatible with the perspective of returning and the desire of the country of origin to have returning emigrants well adapted to modern ways of living.

The real problem of our times is surely the social integration of town and village, agriculture and industry, the rural and the urban environment. Admittedly, some degree of re-adaptation will be necessary when the migrant returns, but this will also be reciprocal. The society of origin will have to take or leave some of the socio-cultural capital brought back by the returning migrants. This is the old process of acculturation or of the fusion of cultures by mixing of the populations.

However, integration depends a great deal on the gap separating the cultures of the migrants and the native-born people and of the capacity of absorption of a given society. Moreover, where immigration has increased enormously in a short space of time (e.g. in Switzerland) or again where the two cultures are very different (e.g. coloured people in the United Kingdom) a kind of social saturation sets in.

If the infiltration of the migrants takes place more slowly, it can be accomplished without any upheaval (e.g. a third of the present population of France results from steady immigration since the beginning of the century).

Elsewhere, by preparing the society to receive immigrants, an almost unlimited immigration of very backward rural workers has been made possible (more than 30 per cent of the present population of Israel). Preparing a society to receive immigrants and increasing its absorption capacity have been possible and have given tangible results in the case of forced rural migrations (refugees from the East in Germany, from Asia Minor in Greece) and also in the case of well-organised internal migrations (e.g. in Holland). (1) It would seem that the saturation point can vary greatly.

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(1) See the first part of this final report.

2.4.3 The alternative to emigration with its high social cost was called for by some representatives of emigration countries, who stressed the advantage of displacing industries and capital instead of men. Other participants did not contest these advantages and added that this industrial mobility was possible within economic groupings which integrate associated countries, both economically and politically.

Until political and economic integration has been extended, a flexible planning of manpower movements would be in everyone's interest, and particularly in that of migrants and emigration countries. The demand and the supply of workers could both be foreseen in advance, and some form of collective agreement between emigration and immigration countries could assure the employers and migrants of stable conditions, free choice of work and long-term stability of labour supply and demand. This would, at the same time, settle the question of business cycles which might lead to the dismissal of workers from jobs which they regarded as permanent. The active manpower policy measures adopted at national level, might lead to a similar policy at international level.

2.5 Conclusion

The principal study of the seminar being that of methods of adaptation, it is difficult to include questions which lie rather beyond its scope. The importance of these questions would merit a thorough study by another seminar. Nevertheless, the reports and discussions made participants aware of the clash of interests of emigration and immigration countries and enabled them to glimpse the possibilities of conciliation without exploring them. This clash of interests is aggravated by the conflicting attitudes of the migrants and of those in the receiving country and their different interpretations of each other's behaviour. It can be said that the present unexpected and massive rural migration in Europe has taken the receiving societies unawares and far exceeded their capacities of absorption. In addition, adaptation, integration and assimilation of migrants leaves much to be desired. The socio-cultural gap between migrants from pre-industrial societies and those living in highly urbanised and industrialised society has to be narrowed. Admittedly, employers, trade unions and governments have already taken some action. Various methods of adaptation have been studied and applied, but in a somewhat piecemeal fashion. The degree of adaptation varies from one place to another. To sum up, it can be stated that the social cost of emigration is still very high.

For this reason, the European participants tried to learn from the experience acquired in adaptation of Jewish rural workers in Israel and Puerto Ricans in New York, which are both cases of permanent immigration. Seen in this light, European problems seemed less unusual and migration on the European continent because of its temporary nature, of less importance in determining what should be done and what methods to use.

The chief lesson learnt is that greater efforts would be necessary for the integration of rural workers on the lines discussed during the seminar.

Some participants, however, proposed a less costly alternative to emigration, i.e. the movement of industry. Other participants, anxious to reduce the serious social cost of emigration, suggested the idea of the social planning of international migration.

3. METHODS OF ADAPTATION

3.1 Preliminary remarks

This section will discuss in a general way the methods which were unanimously approved by the participants in the seminar. Several papers and interventions referred to very similar methods applied in various countries by employers, trade unions and the administrations. For convenience in presenting each method, reference will be made to various ideas, extracts from one or the other of the papers and interventions, and, as far as possible, other sources if necessary.

The discussion will follow the process of migration step by step:

- Preparation and departure of migrants;
- Residence in the host country;
- Return to the country of origin. (1)

3.2 Preparation and departure of migrants

3.2.1 Preliminary briefing

"Information must be given not only to actual emigrants, but to potential emigrants in order to prevent any wrong decision. A worker who has already made the decision to emigrate may find himself in a 'mental state ... such that he is unable to benefit by this briefing'. Thus it is essential that general information on emigration be given to the entire population, 'perhaps while still at school'. (2)

"This preliminary briefing should supply pointers regarding the advisability of emigration, and lay special stress on the difficulties of adjustment to industrial surroundings and on the industrial and social function in the foreign country". "Any general information programme must incidentally often correct various wrong impressions of industrial society, due to misrepresentations by mass media". (3)

"Information on the following questions must in every instance be supplied free of charge before departure to all immigrants and their families , either in their own language or in a language they are able to understand, and with proper regard for their intellectual level: climate; geography; local food habits; cost of living; wages and deductions; employment prospects; nature of local industry and agriculture; opportunities for self-employment such as in the professions; handicrafts or commerce; trade unions; housing facilities; social security; regulations concerning occupational accidents and diseases, maternity, old age, unemployment, family allowances, health services, medical care and hospital accommodation; education; educational facilities for children and adults; political organisations; taxes to which immigrants are liable; rights and duties of immigrants at law; administration of justice, police, civil protection; church facilities; addresses of chaplains and church organisations. (1) (cf. Unesco - op. cit.)

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(1) See Draft Manual on the Cultural Integration of Immigrants, Unesco, 1959.

(2) See "Social Assistance to Migrant Workers, UNO, 1963", cited in report No. 3.

(3) See report No. 3, parts I and II.

Intending emigrants should also be shown standard budgets to demonstrate that a proportionately high cost of living accompanies high wages. Emigrants tend to reason on income only, and "to consider gross earnings as net earnings. Also information ought to be obtained on the advantages in the form of cash wages and social benefits that are being offered".(2) Finally, trade unions and employers are agreed as to what information should be given on trade unionism. The German trade unions reported a conclusive experience of trade union information given to Italian migrants by a German trade union service set up in the recruitment centre of the Italian town of Verona. (3)

3.2.2 Immediate information for emigration applicants "is accomplished directly (or by) documentation specially prepared by the governmental bodies concerned (labour exchanges, emigration offices) or by voluntary social welfare agencies. For their part, the representatives of the receiving countries also supply documentary material (leaflets on working conditions and social legislation, films ...), sometimes even staff to give information directly to those concerned, and when the labour contract is handed over to the migrants before departure, to provide even more precise information. (2) But the contract and leaflets must be drawn up in such a way that emigrants can understand and be impelled to read them, which is hardly the case at present". (4)

One of the firms represented at the seminar has made good use of visual aids by supplying the recruiting commissions with albums of photographs showing foreign workers at work in their foundries. (5)

"This briefing is more effective if followed by a protracted interview with the prospective emigrant. A welfare officer can, at this stage, make the psychological and social preparation of the emigrant more specific and personal. The interview as practised by the I.C.E.M. in Italy consists of a negative approach to emigration by the specialist, who first tries to describe its drawbacks, and then if the subject decides to go 'anyway', he continues with a 'positive approach'.

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(1) Detailed information on this subject is contained in the following I.L.O. documents :
Convention (No. 97) on migrant workers (revised in 1949);
Recommendation (No. 86) on migrant workers (revised in 1949).

(2) See report No. 4.

(3) See report No. 5, and case study No. 9.

(4) See report No. 3.

(5) See case study No. 5.

"In the case of intra-European emigration, however, recruitment takes place so rapidly that recruiting agents have time to exchange but a few words with the emigrant before passing on to the next". A German employers' representative also states: "We must assume that the vast majority of foreign workers leave their country of origin without any reliable information concerning living conditions in the country they are going to, how they will be accommodated, conditions of living and working and any national legislation which may be applicable to them." (1)

"Distances have also been shortened by the development of transport. For this reason, prospective intra-European emigrants are sometimes content with brief indications supplied by recruiting agents or by relatives and friends already settled in a European immigration country, and go abroad "to see for themselves if it is alright", with the option of returning the next day if the situation does not please them. They make their own choice independently after arriving in the receiving country. Another thing which encourages them to leave without serious preparation is the prospect of staying in the foreign country for a limited period, during which they believe, wrongly, that they can put up with the hardships of emigration. These difficulties are minimised by emigrants, who are convinced that a foreign clime must be paradise on earth, "flowing with milk and honey" (2), where "the chances of making money are unlimited". (1) Meanwhile "the habit of building unjustified hopes" (3) is not limited to temporary migrants to Europe. The same tendency has been observed in immigrants to Israel. The officials or other people responsible for giving information to migrants ought also to curb their own tendencies to distort the truth; they "tend to paint a rosy picture thinking that it is good for the morale". In short, the facts must be stated impartially and accurately without causing despondency.

3.2.3 Preselection, selection and recruitment "influence adjustment of the emigrant. Experience shows that migratory currents frequently form before governments have signed the relative agreements. Private, irresponsible recruiting agents organise departures with little or no precautions. Emigrants recruited in this way are sometimes turned back at the frontier of the receiving country and debarred from entry. If they manage to get in, they again fall victims to brokers from their own country who wait for them at the station "to find them a job" in return for a large commission. This type of recruitment is at the root of adjustment difficulties not only for the first wave of emigrants, but for succeeding waves recruited through official agencies. Discontent and low morale spread from one emigrant to another". (1) The German employers' association also warns its members against the dangers of resorting to private agencies or recruiting agents. Nevertheless, "That, however, does not exclude the possibility that the recruiting of individual workers by means of work permits and residence permits may be successful, particularly in the case of foreigners from countries where there is no recruiting commission. German firms have generally had good experience with such workers. The E.E.C.'s freedom of movement order No. 15 will also encourage such individual cases within the E.E.C. countries". (2)

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(1) See report No. 3, Part II.
(2) See case study No. 9.
(3) See case study No. 6.

"Another method of recruitment is to enrol a small group of workers from the same village who then bring in relations and relations' relations. The community of the country of origin thus re-materializes in the receiving country." Firms have had particularly interesting experiences with these nominal requests for workers. "This regrouping of compatriots does not necessarily prevent contacts with the population of the host country. On the contrary, a balance is struck between the two populations : the emigrants come under a dual social control: the home community and host community; divergencies are reduced, and social and cultural exchanges between resident population and migrants are slowly but surely developed.

3.2.4 Occupation, linguistic and social pre-training: "In cases where both the recruitment services and emigrants have plenty of time (as in overseas emigration organized by the I.C.E.M.) linguistic, occupational and even social preparation is given. Largely occupational preparation is also provided for certain groups of rural emigrants from Southern Italy and Spain who go to work in Germany. This example suggests that, even in intra-European migration, it is possible to promote the 'free circulation' of workers in fact as well as in law by organising departures, arrivals and returns of emigrants and allowing time for preparation. Knowledge of the demand for foreign manpower in one country and of the available supply of rural workers from another is hence already available or could be obtained long enough beforehand to plan for recruitment and serious preliminary or direct preparation. The shortage in Western Europe of manpower and also of skilled workers from the Mediterranean agricultural countries shows that such preparation is essential". (3) To cite the opinion of the German employers' organisation on pre-training: "We have had good experience with the preliminary training of unskilled workers in their country of origin. This method has the advantage of eliminating the language difficulty during the basic training period. We have succeeded in organising training in the countries of origin in accordance with our requirements to such an extent that German instructors have been included in the training and participate in the final efficiency tests".

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(1) See report No. 3, also case study No. 6.
(2) See report No. 3, Part II.
(3) See report No. 3, and case study No. 5.

3.2.5 Bringing the migrant's family together and measures for its welfare when it is left behind in the country of origin, can have a very favourable effect on adaptation. "When emigrants are recruited, allowance must be made for their possible desire later on to send for their families. In addition to information on the very real difficulties of regrouping, due to housing shortages and other considerations, the emigrant must ascertain whether members of his family are considered desirable by the country of destination (the physically unfit are refused by certain countries). In such cases it is suggested that the whole family be seen by the recruiting mission and that the emigrant be issued a certificate to guarantee that he can send for his family afterwards.

In intra-European migrations, it would seem advisable from the outset to grant the emigrant the right, in order to keep the family together, to change his job or his employer before expiration of the contract which obliges him to remain with the same firm or in the same district for six months or a year.

Since numbers of emigrants leave their families in the home country, a useful adjustment factor is to assist the family to solve difficulties caused by the absence of its head or other members. The emigrant's mind is thus at rest, and his inevitable homesickness is not made worse by other serious worries.

Before departure, the emigrant must undertake to remit part of his wages to his family dependants, since distressing cases exist of workers failing to meet their family obligations. A special clause in their migrant workers' contracts authorises Swedish firms to deduct a part of the worker's wages and send it to their families at home. (1)

3.2.6 On departure, farewell ceremonies organised at the station by the welfare or other services would be helpful. In addition, at points of exit from the departure country and on the ship, train, etc. along the way, a welfare officer could be responsible for giving information and especially for channelling emigrants towards the general or specialised welfare services of the host country. Thus those who may not have previously consulted an information service can be reached on departure. Such a welfare officer may act as a kind of "courier" on long journeys.

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(1) See report No. 3, and also case study No. 5.

If the journey is short he can also accompany the migrants to the main destination points, where they should be met by an official correspondent in the receiving country, who would then take charge of the migrants. The time taken on the journey could profitably be used for briefing the emigrants through interviews and the distribution of suitable documentation. (1)

3.3 The migrants in the host country

3.3.1 It is as important for adaptation, to prepare the population of the host country as it is to prepare the migrant himself, because adaptation "is a two-way system". (2) "The general public of that country, the working environment (management, supervisory staff and fellow workers), neighbours and all other groups and persons who have to come into contact with the migrants, must be informed beforehand about the social and cultural characteristics of the foreign workers, their reasons for emigrating and their expectations. Suitable preparation must be provided to condition all these groups to welcome the immigrants. Such preparation is essential, to avoid the extremes", (3) of prejudice or even of partiality towards foreigners. With this in mind, the firm has "to give information on the incoming foreigners to its own foremen and workers". (4)

Employers' associations publish brochures about the migrants and arrange for seminars to help the firm to understand this labour force. The trade unions also play their part: "We support the endeavours of a section of the German public to inform the German people in a sensible fashion about the problems of employing foreign labour. Union newspapers of the D.G.B. printing approximately 7 million copies, repeatedly stress how important it is for the Germans not to isolate themselves from the foreigners but rather to welcome them into the fold". (5) Elsewhere, trade unions organise special sessions, for trade union leaders and officials on the reception of migrants, together with general publicity campaigns. These activities are rounded off by study trips made by the trade unionists of the host country to the country of origin.

Finally, in Israel "all the services are especially prepared to aid the immigrants. The majority of the people dealing with clients went through special courses in order to understand the needs and problems of the new immigrant". (6)

3.3.2 The first reception is as important as the briefing and preparation of those in the receiving circles and of the migrant himself. "As soon as a group of foreign workers arrives at the railway station, it is important that the interpreter should appear and provide the first contact with the factory. The new arrivals must immediately gain the impression, on coming into surroundings which are entirely foreign to them, that there is someone in the factory who belongs to their country and speaks their language, and who will therefore look after their interests". (1) Several participants observed that, "in European immigration countries, persons employed as interpreters are often unqualified, and by exploiting both employers and immigrants, are apt to create additional difficulties for both management and labour. It would therefore be desirable for the interpreters to be specially trained social workers belonging to a body supervised by the Government, employers' associations, trade unions and specialised private organisations of the countries of departure and reception". "Since a great part of intra-European migration is accounted for by rural workers who arrive without work contracts as tourists, official guidance officers should be there to meet them at the station or port in the host country. Unfortunately this job has so far been largely performed by fellow-countrymen who are out for what they can get, who exploit the workers' ignorance and sometimes the employers' urgent need for labour. Competent and officially appointed guidance officers might also be given the job of directing new arrivals to hostels, putting them in touch with inter-racial associations and complying with certain administrative formalities on their behalf." (2)

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(1) See report No. 3, and case study No. 5.
(2) See case study No. 7.
(3) See report No. 3.
(4) See report No. 4.
(5) See case study No. 9.
(6) See case study No. 6.

3.3.3 Induction into the working environment: A German employers' representative writes that it is necessary to "introduce the foreign worker carefully and cautiously into the working world of his firm, give him exhaustive instructions, so far as possible place him in the neighbourhood of foreigners already working in the firm, and not to put him on the same footing for piecework or even group work with experienced workers".(3) He also adds "It is also necessary to give the supervisory personnel in the German firms prior information concerning the outlook to be expected of the foreigners. In addition, it is recommended that only foreigners of one particular nation should be employed in any one firm, or at least in any one department of the firm. Introduction into the firm must be carried out carefully. The foreigner must be given confidence in the firm as a whole, its production and its social organisation. It is also important to avoid the misunderstandings which frequently occur owing to the foreigners' ignorance of the wage system. The conceptions of gross or net wages are often unknown. Wages tickets in several languages or translations of the wage account form have therefore proved useful. In addition, we supply foreigners with an interpreter who informs them about the most important problems connected with wages tax and social security where they are concerned. Nevertheless, the first introduction to factory life is a shock to the rural worker. "Again and again the engineer and the interpreter must say : 'Don't worry. Plenty of others have got used to all this. You'll have no difficulty in doing the same'. From the very beginning instruction must be given concerning the organisation of the work process, safety precautions and the recording of the number of units produced, upon which wages are calculated". (1) "The training of foreign workers is usually carried out by German or foreign workers who have been employed at the works for a considerable time. Preliminary training varies in duration from four weeks to three months according to the type of job. Comprehensive training for certain jobs such as casting polisher, mould emptier, caster, machine caster, etc., however, is generally given after further experience and, in the case of machine casters, for example, takes a further three months.

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(1) See case study No. 5.
(2) See report No. 3, and "United Kingdom"
(3) See report No. 3, part II.

"Foremen and skilled workers must not, however, let it be noticed that, during the training period, they consider the newcomer is practically worth only half a worker, otherwise he will often take a dislike to his boss. But generally speaking, after only a short period of training, most of these workers, who were formerly on the land, show that they have such a feeling for technical matters that they display skill and adaptability. The foreign worker who is not used to industry often takes to it with remarkable rapidity, where the execution of individual operations is concerned. In cases where, from the very beginning, there is a conscious desire to execute painstaking, precision work, and provided the quality of the work is subject to constant checks from the beginning, the desired quality is soon achieved without the necessity for further constant supervision.

"Meanwhile, the receiving firms themselves must make an effort towards the training of their foreign workers, if they want to have anything more than mere labourers. Experience has shown that foreign workers can be trained comparatively easily and quickly for certain jobs. Firms must, however, adopt careful training methods and ensure that they have suitable instructors for the purpose. All the above measures must contribute to ensuring that the foreign worker is in a position to do his job properly and thus enabled to earn the same wages as a German worker. This is essential if the foreign worker is not to become a sort of low grade worker capable of doing only unskilled, strenuous work. The vocational training to be provided for the foreigner must above all consist of general basic training, enabling him to adapt himself to various work processes. It is also advisable to supplement training in the firm by means of evening classes.

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(1) See case study No. 5.

"According to our experience, however, it may be stated that foreigners have successfully established themselves in our factories thanks to the training given there. We believe that this is due both to the adaptability of the workers concerned and to the efforts to help them made on the German side". (1) The unions also help with training schemes; they usually demand that training schemes already in use in a country should be extended to immigrants. But experience has shown that these schemes often have to be modified to suit the socio-cultural level of the migrants. (2) Some trade unions have themselves set up centres for training at all levels to meet the special needs of the immigrant. For example, in New York, "Labour unions have played an increasing role in promotion of new training opportunities for Puerto Ricans and the other minorities. In most industries, training for job skills is a function of the employer rather than the union. In the garment and publishing trades, unions have elicited community support, and city-financed vocational high schools have been established for training. In the Central High School of Needle Trades, Puerto Ricans currently represent 40% of the regular student body and a substantial percentage of enrollees in the evening school programme. The ILGWU, in addition to its support of this public programme, offers its own classes in job skills which enable members to advance to higher-paid jobs. In recent years, Puerto Ricans have formed the major component of such training programmes. In 1962, one large construction union undertook a large-scale campaign among minorities which resulted in the recruitment of more than 100 Puerto Ricans for an apprenticeship training programme operated by the union. Other special efforts to recruit minorities for union-sponsored training are programmes for: 1. Positions as cooks and waiters in first class restaurants and hotels sponsored by unions in that industry; 2. sales positions under the auspices of a retail local; 3. garage mechanics in an automobile workers' union". (3)

3.3.4 Social advancement: As one employer mentioned, the aim of vocational training is to raise the rural migrant's social status. Training and general trade union action have been complemented in the United Kingdom and in New York by additional measures to help the rural migrants. For the benefit of extra-European migrants, some British trade unions have relaxed their strict rules requiring some written proof of training to obtain membership of the union and the right to priority in placement in skilled jobs. (4) New York trade unions have gone further. "The National Maritime Union and District 65 of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, are examples of unions which operate hiring halls and vigorously enforce a policy of nondiscrimination, making opportunities for better-paying jobs available on a seniority basis. In the latter, this power has been used to introduce Puerto Ricans in shops where they have never been employed before, to open the way for movement to higher skill classifications, and even to break patterns of segregation where employers tended to hire only Puerto Ricans, thereby isolating the newcomer group from other union contacts". (1)

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(1) See report No. 3, Part II.
(2) See case study No. 6.
(3) See case study No. 7.
(4) See "United Kingdom" country report.

The importance of inter-trade mobility is stressed by the Israeli rapporteur, who states, "The workers often consider that the failure of occupational mobility is the result of discrimination and react accordingly. The solution to this problem seems to be the key to successful integration". (2)

3.3.5 Learning the language of the host country is a great help in training, social advancement, introduction to town life and relations with the local people. Successful experiences described at the seminar were based on teaching methods and audio-visual techniques which appeal to adult country people. Again, "Some firms have attempted to arouse interest by offering prizes or bonuses of various sorts to participants". (3) In fact, the solution of the difficulties and feigned or real reluctance of the migrants to learn the language might be eased not only by providing local authorities with the means (including the teachers) to extend their services outside their normal education provision, but also by adopting less formal methods than classes in colleges of further education or even evening classes. For example, the General Council are informed that a fifteen-minute lesson in English is given before the main film at Indian film shows on Sundays in Darlaston, and that arrangements are made with local cinemas for showing suitable films on Sunday mornings at Luton. In Southampton there have been similar showings of educational films, and English classes are held in the afternoons for mothers of young children,under local authority auspices, in a pleasant social atmosphere and with light refreshment provided. In some Midland towns, such as Darlaston, organisations run by immigrants themselves provide classes in English, and these should receive assistance from local education authorities". (4)

One German firm under study and the New York trade unions have abandoned the conventional teaching methods, finding that the teaching of English (or German) is more effective in the context of everyday work experience, and special courses have been devised with conversational exercises based on employment practices and union issues . (5)

"In labour education classes for Puerto Rican members, participants have been encouraged to speak English by bilingual teachers who introduce the subject matter in Spanish and conduct discussion in English. Over the years, local union classes in the English language have reached thousands of Puerto Rican members. Such instruction not only encourages participation in union affairs and helps to integrate the member with the community but often provides an avenue to the better paying jobs for which ability to communicate in English is usually a prerequisite". (1) If certain categories of people in the host country acquire a knowledge of the language of the migrants, this is also an aid to adaptation. Here again, it is clear that adaptation is a two-sided process.

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(1) See case study No. 7.
(2) See case study No. 6.
(3) See report No. 3, part II.
(4) See "United Kingdom" country report.
(5) See case study No. 7, and also case study No. 5.

For instance, the personnel services in firms, foremen and other skilled native-born workers, are supplied with glossaries to facilitate communication with the migrants. (2) Some trade union delegates have learned the language of foreign members, (3) and in Bradford (United Kingdom), "the local authority has now begun to organise evening classes in Urdu (Pakistani dialect) which are attended by members of the police force and by local shop keepers and others who have daily contacts with Pakistanis". (4)

3.3.6 Suitable housing at a reasonable price is a very important aid to adaptation. Firstly, the accommodation of the migrants must enable them "to live among their fellow countrymen and yet develop contacts with the people of the host country. Intermediate solutions between a ghetto existence and dispersion must be found, since segregation in a ghetto causes them to live in a closed circuit, whereas dispersion and consequent isolation accentuate the feeling of being uprooted". (5) Then they must neither be too close nor too far from the factory. A German employers' representative writes, "In addition, the 'hut' type of building should be avoided as far as possible, except for seasonal workers. Accommodation should be adequately furnished, provided with heating and cupboards which can be locked. In addition to bedrooms, at least one recreation room should be provided. It is recommended that small kitchens should be incorporated, so as to enable the foreigners to prepare their own national meals if they want. It is better for the health of a foreign worker if in the long run he adapts himself to the feeding habits of the receiving country. This however should not be carried out overnight. To help firms over this problem, a Hamburg publishing firm has broughtout cooking recipes for large-scale catering containing suggested meals for Italians. The Employers Association has also made an effort to inform the various firms about the most important national dishes of Spaniards and Greeks. Lastly, we have recommended that firms should ask local food shops to include basic articles of foodstuffs such as are available in the workers' country of origin in their range". (1) "The menus are usually drawn up for a week at a time by the chef in consultation with a messing committee elected by the inmates of the hostel". (2) "We have not found it satisfactory to leave the cleaning of such accommodation to the foreign workers themselves. The better the accommodation provided for them, the less tendency will there be for them to make a nuisance of themselves outside factory hours". (1) For this the hostel must be more than a place to eat and sleep. The wardens are responsible for "the organisation of games and leisure, the laying out of sports fields, the provision of games, the maintenance of radio and television sets and the provision of foreign newspapers, for which the firm has taken out subscriptions". (2) This is where the interpreter of the hostel has a role to play. He must also be a conscientious social worker; "both wardens and interpreters are the go-betweens for foreign workers in their dealings with the wages office of the factory, the various German administrative authorities such as the health insurance, tax office, family allowance office, doctors and so on". (2)

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(1) See case study No. 7, and also case study No. 5.
(2) See case study No. 5.
(3) See case study No. 7.
(4) See "United Kingdom" country report.
(5) See report No. 3 and case studies Nos. 8 and 9.

3.3.7 Bringing the family together is firstly a question of housing. "In the long run, the year's separation from their families gives rise to problems, not only for the foreign workers but also for the management, which cannot be satisfactorily solved even by the expedient of a journey home twice a year. The workers themselves repeatedly ask for their families to be allowed to join them in the Federal Republic", (3) states an employer. However, "in no case, should individual accommodation or family lodgings be provided or offered as a makeshift, since this has an adverse effect on the will to work and on output in the long run". (4) Again, even when, as sometimes occurs, the Consulate gives a ticket to return home to the despairing wife (whose husband has not been able to find accommodation for her) the problem is still not solved".(3)

This situation of homeless families "is sometimes exploited by unscrupulous property owners, who let inadequate accommodation at exorbitant rents. The practice is not general, but a few cases which have come to notice have given rise to comment. In certain instances the German authorities have taken action against unscrupulous landlords at the instigation of the employers and charitable organisations". (3) In Luxemburg and New York, trade unions have conducted press campaigns and taken collective action to put an end to this form of exploitation.

Several answers to this difficult question have been suggested. For example, voluntary services and firms in Germany, Luxemburg and other countries have received financial aid from the State and in some cases from the European Coal and Steel Community for the building of hostels for migrants. Although the same government assistance has not been given for family housing, firms and local bodies have been able to house families in flats "of the same type and at the same rents as the German workers' families" (1), i.e. two or three rooms with bathroom and kitchen for between 60 and 95 D.M. per month. This means not only stability but also an increase in the number of workers from each family (as the wife and the eldest son may also work). One employers representative writes that these families decide to stay for at least five to seven years. "Some of our factories even entertain the hope that some of the children in these families, after leaving school, will enter the training shops as apprentices and thus be trained as skilled workers after a three-year course". (1) At the termination of their training they will undergo the State examinations and be issued with the trade proficiency certificate.

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(1) See report No. 3, Part II.
(2) See case study No. 5.
(3) See case study No. 5 and report No. 3, Part II.
(4) See report No. 3, Part II.

Children play a part in family adaptation. They easily mix with the children of the receiving country, and give the mother an opportunity of making neighbourhood acquaintances and thus getting into the local social environment. Through the children, mothers sometimes even learn to speak the language of the host country before the fathers, especially if the children attend school. In fact the problem for all migrant workers, especially in the more temporary variety of intra-European migration, is maintaining the language of the home country, since the plan is eventually to return. The language and history of the country of the migrants workers must therefore be taught, whether in schools of the receiving country attended by numerous migrant children, in Sunday schools, by correspondence course, or by radio and television. Holiday camps may usefully be organised in both the home and host countries for the children of migrants, as well as in boarding schools in the country of origin. Many migrant children of school age are in fact sent back to their grandparents so they can study in their home country and enable the mother to carry on paid work, often in the same factory as her husband. (2) To enable mothers to go out to work, firms band together or join forces with voluntary organisations to set up kindergartens and infants schools with teachers or assistants belonging to the country of origin. (1)

3.3.8 Introduction to the urban social life: To give comfortable homes to families is not enough; they must be helped to get used to this new type of dwelling and to town life which is so different from life in their home countries. A social worker in each block of flats would have to tell housewives to lay in stocks of coal and potatoes (in Germany), the upkeep of homes, how to shop at the supermarkets and the correct use of housekeeping money. (1) After being accustomed to a system of barter, the migrants find it difficult to manage their budgets. They can be

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(1) See case study No. 5.
(2) See report No. 3.

"persuaded to buy merchandise on credit by unscrupulous merchants, charging twice or three times the regular purchase price, and often find themselves doubly victimized by garnishees (legal claims on wages) at their place of employment". (1)

"Employment co-operation was secured for consumer education on time released from work. Speakers, obtained through the Commonwealth of Puerto Rican Migration Division, alerted employers to the dangers of instalment buying, showed them how to spot fraudulent contracts and taught them how to get the most for their money. According to reports from union and management, the programme resulted in a dramatic decline in the number of garnishees. In addition, the local union organized a credit union and a low cost insurance plan to counteract high pressure sales methods reported by members". (1)

Migrants tend to worry more about personal and family difficulties than their work but they know very little about the advantages of collective action. To cope with this, the unions have organized aid and guidance schemes for the immigrants. Indeed, the latter "tend to look to the union as 'home from home'; they come to the officer with all kinds of questions ranging from what to do with unpaid bills to school dropouts and even marital difficulties. It has been the experience of many union leaders that an understanding approach backed by specific advice or, better still, action on the member's problem contributes more than any other one thing to building union loyalty. In smaller locals such counselling is offered by the regular officials. The A.F.L.-C.I.O. maintains a community services programme which keeps local officers informed on labour laws and the services of community agencies so that they, in turn, may advise members on such questions as :

1. How to obtain unemployment insurance benefits;
2. What to do in case of an accident;
3. Where to obtain assistance when there is a gap in income due to protracted illness; and
4. Whom to see for help with family problems.

This type of advice is particularly important to newcomers who get lost in the maze of agencies which characterize a modern metropolis. Learning to fill out complicated forms has been particularly difficult for Puerto Ricans. For example, one organisation found that Puerto Rican members were not utilising the union's medical plan in proportion to their numbers, a fact which was attributed to the difficulty encountered in completing forms necessary for reimbursement. In order to meet the problem of forms and procedures, lawyers have been retained by some locals; in others, union members (usually bilingual) are trained to be specialists who advise members on their rights and help them to follow the required procedure. One union has even supplied advice on income tax which has proved to be very popular with Puerto Rican members. A number of unions operate their own health centres, furnishing diagnostic medical service to members. These centres usually include a Social Service Department staffed with trained social workers who handle referrals to community agencies on such problems as child care, mental illness, recreation and education." (1)

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(1) See case study No. 7.

3.3.9 Leisure: "In the early stages, migrant workers, especially from rural areas, need spare-time activities organised by the firm, the community or by trade or church organisations. Such leisure activities should be based on those of the home country in the initial period". (2) "Experience indicates that activities planned for the members by persons unfamiliar with their customs and interests are not particularly effective. For example, a few unions learned to their sorrow that beer parties which are popular with New Yorkers do not appeal to Puerto Ricans. On the other hand, activities planned in consultation with or by the Puerto Ricans themselves have met with enthusiastic response".(1) Later on, as the immigrants become progressively adjusted, they form acquaintanceships which bring them into contact with the activities of the host country. But rural immigrants may usefully be told how leisure-time is spent in towns and be taught the significance of leisure-time behaviour in industrialised countries. The attention of rural migrants must also be drawn to the fact that leisure cannot be prolonged after the weekend. The ordered schedule of the industrial worker: work - family matters - weekend - back to work, etc. exasperates country folk who are accustomed to work and to amuse themselves almost whenever they choose". (2) This essential task falls to the bodies mentioned previously who "are in a position to organise clubs and meeting places for the foreigners, where they can meet their compatriots and talk with them. In addition, they can provide opportunities for foreign workers to meet citizens of the receiving country outside working hours, which can make a considerable contribution to accustoming them to their new country. Finally there are opportunities for organising language instruction and explaining conditions in the receiving country". (3) "In addition, they arrange a whole series of social events such as excursions, Christmas parties, dances, games evenings with the help of German youth groups, projections of foreign films and so on". (4) Luxembourg has "libraries in three of the larger towns where workers can read good Italian books during their leisure hours". (5) In Israel, the Histadruth, "has established an extensive programme for the new immigrants : tours in the country, collective visits to the theatre, lectures in the immigrants' own language, a special newspaper in easy basic Hebrew, clubrooms in the immigrant quarters, language courses in the evenings and adult education projects for the illiterate and semi-literate".(1) Finally, in New York, trade union clubs encourage leisure-time activities in the form of national groups (Italian, Jewish, Puerto Rican, etc.). Particular mention should be made of any activities "designed to interpret the music, drama and traditions of these groups to other members of the union". (2) This encourages the intermingling of different cultures. "An appropriate social background is essential to assist the initiation of rural workers into the urban way of life. It is not sufficient to set up a 'centre' in town. It must be provided with experienced organisers, capable of so dealing with the immigrant membership as to obtain its active participation in the functions of the Centre; otherwise it will have to be placed under policy supervision to preserve order, as has happened with certain clubs for Greek workers in Germany". (3)

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(1) See case study No. 7.
(2) See report No. 3.
(3) See report No. 3, part II.
(4) See case study No. 5.
(5) See case study No. 8.

3.3.10 Introduction to political life is essential for the immigrants in the country where they have citizen status. Immigrants to countries which practise systematic naturalisation should be given instruction of this kind. A milder form of introduction could be beneficial to temporary migrants, giving them a better appreciation of this side of social life during their stay in the host country. On returning to their own country, their knowledge of the political conditions abroad should be an asset to the civic life of their own nation.

During the seminar, two cases were presented involving migrants with citizen status in the host country : In New York, "Unions have tried to encourage citizenship and community participation. In New York State, citizens qualify for voting by a literacy test in English or a certificate of formal education. Among the activities of the Labour Advisory Committee on Puerto Rican affairs was a massive registration campaign among Puerto Ricans. Through television and radio, neighbourhood meetings and house-to-house visits, Puerto Ricans were given instruction which would enable them to pass the literacy requirement and they were urged to register and vote. This drive was given a large measure of credit for the substantial increase in Spanish-speaking voters registered between 1954 and 1956. In connection with its own political action campaigns, the New York City Central Labour Council and many of its member unions have tried to involve Puerto Rican members, appealing to them in Spanish and campaigning on issues of interest to newcomers. Within the past year, there has been a growing movement to change the state constitution so that Puerto Ricans may qualify to vote by demonstrating literacy in Spanish or by offering proof of formal education in Puerto Rico. Labour leaders have been among the advocates of this change". (1) Again in Israel, "The labour parties affiliated to the Histadruth have special programmes of political activity within the immigrant groups and there is a tendency to activate at least on the lower levels of the party echelons - the potential leaders of the various groups", (2) because the leaders belonging to an immigrant group "are favourably placed for ensuring the all-important communication with the public". (3) In fact, "The political education for citizenship in a modern democracy depends very much on the ability of the local leaders to maintain communication with the local population".(4)

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(1) See case study No. 6.
(2) See case study No. 7.
(3) See report No. 3.

3.4 The return of migrants

3.4.1 "In the first place, there is the holiday return which certain European employers deliberately extend for migrants. This temporary return helps them to 'take heart' - to use their own expression. They renew links with their country, see their families, and bask in familiar surroundings. When they go back abroad they can bear the separation better because it is temporary. Returning for political elections is also a help to adjustment, since it gives migrants the feeling that they are not cut off from the body of the nation and carry some weight in their own country. Just as their fellow workers in the receiving country, they are able to exercise their political rights". And in the case of seasonal workers who return to their country for the winter, the host country should grant unemployment and sick benefits for this period and an automatic renewal of their contract of employment with the same employer for the next season.

Finally, the returns due to failure are still frequent though fewer. Again, " Many maladjusted migrants prefer nowadays to stay in European immigration countries, passing from one town to another, from one country to the next and then to the next, working at small jobs or drawing various forms of public assistance. Special measures should be studied to deal with these migrants and 'trans-migrants' so as to prevent the formation in Europe of a marginal, rootless, vagrant, anti-social labour force, like the 'hoboes' during the great immigration period in the United States".

3.4.2 "The permanent return of successful migrants raises different problems according to whether they are of active or retirement age. The latter have certain secondary readaptation problems, as they no longer exercise an occupation but live on pensions or resources acquired abroad. Yet their presence, habits and inter-relations create mutual influences between the culture they have brought back from abroad and their own native culture. This applies particularly to former emigrants to overseas countries who have returned to their homeland in the Mediterranean area. No special measures have so far been taken to deal with such returns.

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(1) See case study No. 7.
(2) See case study No. 6.
(3) See case study No. 6.
(4) See report No. 3, also case study No. 5.

"Migrants returning while still of working age have more complex readjustment problems. The drive which is characteristic of such age groups, the need to become reintegrated into economic and social life, other social, cultural and vocational factors and the resources brought back from the foreign country are all possible causes of friction with the home environment.

"A study must be made of measures to promote the smooth blending of elements brought home from abroad with the local culture and to help integrate the migrant at all levels of social life. Yet care must be taken that the pressure of the home community does not compel the returning migrant to rid himself of the positive contribution to his occupation and his daily life which he has brought back from abroad.

"Little study has been devoted to the problems of adjustment on return. The situation is new and the countries concerned have had neither the opportunity nor yet enough perspective to deal with it systematically". (1)

3.5 Conclusion

Techniques for adapting rural workers who emigrate to the industrial sector of another country comprise a series of measures, based mainly on practical experience of social welfare work on behalf of such workers. But progress in the social sciences has produced added knowledge of the adjustment problem for emigrants, and practical conclusions which have made it possible to test and revise the empirical measures and discover new ones. The practical and theoretical contributions together now supply a set of more or less valid techniques though they do not yet constitute a 'sociological technology' as reliable as industrial technology. Thus the most careful and conscientious application of these techniques will not result in an 'ideal' emigration operation so far as emigrant adjustment is concerned, though it may reduce the social cost to a minimum. (1)

The fact that adjustment techniques constitute no perfect human engineering process does not mean that their application and improvement can be neglected in any society which respects the dignity of man and seeks economic and social efficiency.

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(1) See report No. 3, also case study No. 5.

4. THE FUNCTION OF EMPLOYERS' AND WORKERS' ORGANISATIONS

4.1 Representation of employers and trade unions on economic and social policy-making bodies is provided for in the immigration countries and in several emigration countries. The role of the employers' and workers' organisations begins and also ends with their participation in the work of these bodies. (1)

This participation is needed firstly when framing migratory policy and its social aims, especially the adaptation of the migrants. The professional organisations of the countries, both of immigration and emigration, must then begin talks not only between themselves, but also with the governments concerned. Even after the policies and interests of the parties concerned have been reconciled at international level, further safeguards should be taken before the actual move takes place. (2)

4.2 The briefing of the departure and reception circles constitutes one of these safeguards. The employers' organisations and the trade unions have to conduct a co-ordinated campaign to prepare the bodies affiliated to them; (3) individual firms, trade unions, factory committees, and district and village committees (by the agricultural organisations of the country of departure). The nature of this preparation has been discussed in detail in the section on techniques (preliminary briefing of prospective migrants, preparation of receiving community and of foremen, recruitment of the right kind of interpreters etc.). Preparation also includes the provision of material necessities, e.g. suitable housing, vocational preliminary training and training centres specially adapted for rural migrants, and recreational and cultural centres. The professional organisations can apply to the State for the partial financing of certain operations, e.g. construction of housing, vocational training when this is to the advantage of the country of origin. These organisations will then share out the work and the responsibility.

4.3 The employers' organisations and their member firms in the two countries concerned will co-operate in fact-finding, recruitment and preliminary training missions and in arrangements for the return of the migrants to the country of origin.

They will be responsible for the initial reception, housing and the initiation of migrants into factory life. They will direct migrants to training centres in the factory and elsewhere. When migrants are living in hostels or in residential areas with native-born people, the employers will help in the mutual adaptation of migrants and the local community. They will even help to settle various questions, e.g. recreation, setting-up of nurseries and bilingual schools for the children, the opening of liaison agencies in the country of origin, etc.

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(1) See report No. 5, and "United Kingdom" country report.
(2) See report No. 4. and case study No. 9.
(3) See "Austria" country report.

The employers have special social obligations with regard to the migrants of rural origin. These obligations do not exclude the right of the works manager to decide how many he wants to employ or his policy of investment in labour or equipment, within the limits fixed by the plan or other authorities. (1) Again, social activities which are not directly bound up narrowly with integration in the factory ought to be shared with other bodies: firstly, the Works Council, if this exists, then the trade unions, voluntary bodies, local communities and administrations.(2) The employers' organisations would also have to break down their members' opposition to trade union recruitment because the fact that the immigrant can join a trade union makes for better integration in the factory and in social life.

Finally, the employers would have to approach the authorities to ensure progressive improvement in the different factors influencing the adaptation of the immigrants (e.g. construction of housing for families, etc.) in the light of the experience gained during previous migratory movements.

4.4 Trade union organisations would have similar duties complementary to those of employers' organisations, i.e. taking an active part in fact-finding activities, recruitment, initial reception, introduction to the factories and to the local community. Besides guaranteeing equal treatment for migrants, the unions ought to offer direct or indirect social aid towards the adaptation and advancement of the newcomers. This aid should be provided in some suitable form. The immigrants would then understand the more general role of the union and would be more inclined to join. All this, however, calls for a general adjustment of the structure of trade unionism to cope with this flow of migration. Good adjustment can infuse new blood into the trade unions of the host country and bring new strength to trade unionism in the country of origin which can benefit from the social training and trade union experience of the returning migrants.

Some trade union organisations, however, prefer a policy of general action because they consider it is perhaps discriminatory to set up special bodies and to make the unions responsible for welfare arrangements.

In the interests of international solidarity, the trade unions must also help migrants to acquire vocational training, which will benefit both the host country and the country of origin.(3)

Finally, by requesting national and international administrative authorities, e.g. the E.E.C., to take general steps to aid migrants during their residence abroad and on their return to the country of origin, the trade unions in co-operation with the employers can contribute to the steady improvement of the conditions of adaptation.

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(1) See report No. 4.
(2) See report No. 3, Part II, and case studies No. 5 and No. 7.
(3) See report No. 5, also case study No. 9.

4.5 International organisations By virtue of their representation on the major international organisations, employers' and workers' international organisations can and should encourage action by these bodies on the question of international migration.

Some of the participants considered that these international bodies already encourage or should be authorised to encourage or standardise the ways and means of adapting the migrants. It was mentioned that E.C.S.C. and the Council of Europe had subsidised the building of homes for migrant miners, and it was hoped that E.E.C. would take similar action on behalf of other categories, e.g. building workers. (1) O.E.C.D. had also been asked to encourage its Member countries to finance the building of homes for migrants families because, for adaptation "the first requirement is the large-scale reunion of families".(2)

Material and moral support by the international authorities would be needed also in the encouragement of workers' training schemes,(3) the growth of national welfare services for these workers and, in general to speed up the furthering of the application of methods of adaptation.

But the role of the international organisations would be more extensive because it is through them that the international professional organisations, governments and specialised voluntary organisations would have to study and launch the alternatives put forward by the seminar:

(a) A flexible social planning of international manpower movements and/or

(b) A planned international movement of industries and capital towards the manpower, to the emigration countries. (3)

4.6 Conclusion

The conclusions of the representatives of an employers' association and then of a trade union organisation may be cited: "The more the firms concerned, government departments, and the welfare services recognise the social, political, vocational, human, psychological and cultural problems involved in adaptation, the easier it is for both sides to overcome the initial difficulties.

Such activities must be undertaken on the part of the receiving country with understanding and tact, and on the part of the foreign worker with a will to adapt himself. Once that occurs, the foreign worker soon becomes a contented member of the team to the advantage both of the firm and of himself. The more we are able to bring this about, the more will the employment of foreign workers contribute to the peaceful development of the western world and thus serve the interests of peace and understanding among peoples". (1)

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(1) See case study No. 8.
(2) See case study No. 5.
(3) See report No. 5.

"Finally, sincere co-operation between the national authorities, employers and trade unions is required in all circumstances. This is the only means of ensuring that rural and foreign immigrant workers will receive the same treatment as other workers, and of removing all the prejudices which affect those working outside their own countries.

"The use of the resources of energy of all parties while respecting the prerogatives of each will avoid the contradictions, waste, suspicion and conflicts which hamper the establishment of sound relations between immigrant and other workers.

"Each of the parties must endeavour to make this co-operation possible". (2)

5. GENERAL CONCLUSION

5.1 The migration situation and that of the migrants from rural countries moving to urbanised and industrial countries reminded the seminar of the position of the workers at the dawn of the industrial era. It was clearly recognised that a hundred years of cultural leeway must be made up before rural immigrants could emerge from their sub-proletariat status. It is not only a problem of adapting each migrant to work and to modern social life but of integrating this sub-proletariat into the working class and an industrial society. Their eventual re-integration into their original, partially industrialised societies (as rural migrants in Europe generally stay for only a limited period) also raises the question of vocational and social training.

5.2 Although difficulties involved in migration were only touched on, the participants were able to define more precisely the various interests involved in the migratory flows under study: interests of the immigration countries, the emigration countries and of the migrants themselves. Although the seminar did not have the time to discuss ways and means of reconciling these interests, it was generally agreed that some degree of social planning of international movements might well prove effective.

5.3 This planning should make due allowance for the attitudes of migrants and the host community. These attitudes were discussed at length by the seminar. In Europe, for instance it seemed that most of the difficulties encountered in adaptation stemmed from the reluctance of the immigrant to settle down permanently in the new countries, but the discussion of cases of permanent migration to New York and Israel revealed the same difficulties. Realisation of this fact was one of the major results of the seminar.

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(1) See report No. 3, Part II.
(2) See report No. 5.

Although European employers and trade unions have tried to resolve these difficulties, the structures of the receiving countries are not designed to absorb workers coming from pre-industrial environments and several projects and methods have practically failed. The receiving countries in Europe have not concealed their disappointment, while the migrants have made no secret of their feeling that social integration in the host country is impossible. This has given rise to anti-trade union and political workers' movements both in Europe and in New York. The immigrant sub-proletariat has developed, if not in opposition, at least outside the working classes, and other classes in the host country.

The co-existence of separate social groups of immigrants and non-immigrants which have not been properly integrated, has engendered a sense of saturation in some receiving countries.

Finally, due to the high social cost of present-day emigration to Europe, some of the countries of emigration suggested the alternative of transferring industries to places where the labour is available.

Discussion of these different attitudes by the seminar did not prevent it from studying what has or could be done to help the adaptation of migrants. The workers are there. Employers, trade unions, national authorities and voluntary organisations are all perfectly aware of their presence and have evolved various techniques of adaptation.

5.4 The study of these techniques revealed that methods of adult education, welfare services, collective action and mass communication have been strikingly successful.

However, good methods have been haphazardly applied. There has been a general lack of contact between those responsible for application of techniques in this or that place at such and such a stage of the process of adaptation, and their predecessors and successors with the result that overall efficiency has not been all that it might have been.

Unfortunately, the adaptation methods presented in this report have never been applied either in the order presented in this report or with the necessary precautions or on a large enough scale. The seminar has taken note of this as being one of the valuable contributions of this seminar. From now on, employers associations and trade unions will be better equipped to take effective action.

5.5 The function of employers' and workers' organisations was made clear in the papers and discussions at the seminar. Moreover, the need for honest co-operation at all levels from the factory to the international agency was felt and duly recognised. Greater efficiency can be obtained by co-ordinating the activities of the professional organisations, the national authorities and the voluntary associations of a country or of a group of countries concerned with this question.

The social commitments of the employers and trade unions alike were clearly stated. All parties were asked to look at the history of industrial countries and to remember the disgraceful way in which rural workers were turned into a proletariat under the influence of industrialisation. Is this to be allowed to happen again? No one would permit it, least of all the migrants. They would be induced to take matters into their own hands (certain signs of this have already appeared) and, backed by the countries of emigration, the poor countries , would confront the host countries with this dilemma : either make things easier for the lower grades of worker or be forced to do without foreign rural manpower; or else build up an explosive situation that could destroy a democratic society which has proved incapable of integrating the migrants.

In the final declaration, the seminar laid stress on the continuous application and steady improvement of techniques of adaptation, so that a mood of optimism for the future may be engendered.

The integration of migrants and their subsequent return to their countries of origin, enables widely separated peoples to get to know one another better, to understand one another, to develop mutual toleration, mutual liking, mutual aid and to work together for an increasingly humane civilisation.

FINAL STATEMENT (1)

1. The movement of the rural population and foreign labour into industry remains significant in many Member countries. Organized provision should be made for occupational, social and cultural adjustments of these people to ensure their more effective employment in industry and to promote stable social and political development.

2. While the volume of employment in agriculture continues to contract and the expansion of national economies is limited by domestic shortages of labour, individual countries will encourage immigration. This means that these movements of population into industry will continue to occupy a central role in the economic and social life of the Member countries of the O.E.C.D.

3. Comparable in nature to the problems of mobility of urban workers who shift to new jobs or locations, the seminar observed, however, the more intensive adjustment problems of rural and even greater ones for foreign groups moving into industry.

4. The greater the differences between the culture, language, outlook, ways of life of the migrant and those in the receiving plant and community, the greater are the problems of adjustment.

5. An orderly and organised handling of the process of adjustment to assure the smooth movement and integration of the migrant into the new industrial and community life, is in the interest of all persons and groups both in the emigration and immigration countries.

6. The adjustment of the migrants depends, in all cases of geographical mobility, upon adequate personal preparation and selection, job training and adequate induction in the new job, financial assistance for movement, appropriate housing and social facilities in the immigrating community.

7. Although many serious problems are still to be solved, the studies and experience reported at this seminar highlighted the varied and great efforts being made by employers and unions in different countries to ease the movement of people to new employments and areas.

8. Both groups have developed organised programmes for helping the integration of temporary and permanent immigrants.

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(1) This statement was approved by all delegates except Mr. Smith, Mr. Dahlström and Miss Nicholson.

9. The people of the receiving countries are playing a role in assuring friendly acceptance of the newcomers.

10. Developing countries are in the process of organising special programmes of adjustment for their nationals who return to their own countries, thereby assuring the most productive employment for their own experience.

11. Public and private aid, facilities and counselling for migrants both in the emigrating and receiving communities have been organised in many areas.

12. These are converting a haphazard process into a systematic procedure which prepares the way for migrants, inspires confidence and security in them and offers help to individuals to overcome their various difficulties.

13. The employer and trade union programmes reported in the seminar illustrate many sound principles of adjustment and indicate forms of assistance which can be provided to assist in the adjustment. Individuals have thereby been helped to become highly adjusted productive members of the labour force.

14. Continued study of the process of adjustment on the job through examination of records on turnover, absenteeism and production provide a basis for adapting the programme to new needs and problems.

15. Trade union programmes have contributed to greater understanding between the older and new members of the labour force.

APPENDICES

Report No. 1

INTRODUCTORY REPORT ON THE INTERNAL AND INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION OF RURAL WORKERS TO INDUSTRY

prepared by the International Labour Office

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this introductory report drafted by the International Labour Office is to assemble and analyse the statistical and other information available on the extent and trend of the migratory movements - both internal and international - of rural workers towards industry, as well as the characteristics of these migrants.

All the European countries are experiencing this drift from the land towards industry. Whether this takes the form of daily, weekly, seasonal or permanent displacement, it has been growing steadily during the last few years as a result of the many economic and social developments that have taken place.

The statistical or other data available very often shed some light on the extent and characteristics of internal and international migration but direct and precise information on the movement of rural workers to industry is generally lacking. This movement is an indirect result of the gradual shrinkage of the agricultural population and of farm labour. Its logical corollary is increased employment in the other sectors of the economy, especially industry.

It is therefore essential, before making any examination of internal or international occupational migration, to estimate the extent of this drift from the land in the European countries for which information is available. (1)

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(1) The following information is taken from an I.L.O. study entitled "Why the workers leave the land", (Geneva, 1960, New Series, No.59). The information on the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy, the United Kingdom and Sweden has been brought up to date. The report is concerned only with the post-war period. It should be

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In France, the active agricultural population fell from 7,484,000 in 1946 to 5,190,000 in 1954; from then until 1960, it dropped by another 1,030,000 (147,000 each year). During this period, the number of men dropped more sharply than the number of women. Industrial manpower rose from 6,419,000 to 7,049,000. (2)

In the Federal Republic of Germany, agricultural manpower dropped by 330,000 (i.e. by 55,000 per annum) between 1950 and 1955 and by 1,244,000 (207,000 per annum) between 1955 and 1960. The proportion of agricultural manpower in total manpower fell from 23 per cent in 1950 to 13.8 per cent in 1961.(3)

In Italy, the trend of agricultural employment was as follows: the total labour force fell between November 1951 and May 1957 from 8,261,000 to 7,652,000, i.e. from 42.2 per cent to 35.5 per cent of the active population. By 1962, only 5,521,000 workers were employed in agriculture, i.e. 27.7 per cent of the total active population. The male labour force diminished by 43 per cent, from 6,228,000 in November 1951 to 3,746,000 in 1962 but the female labour force was reduced by only 13 per cent during this period. (4)

In Norway, the number of agricultural workers dropped from 295,000 to 250,000 between 1946 and 1950, i.e. from 21.5 per cent to 18 per cent of the total active population.

In the Netherlands, the permanent male agricultural labour force fell from 531,787 in 1947 to 431,102 in 1956, i.e. by about 20 per cent. The percentage of employment in agriculture compared with employment in general, calculated in man/years, fell from 14.2 per cent in 1949 to 11.5 per cent in 1956. The index for agricultural employment (1949-50/1952-53 = 100) dropped from 124.9 in 1938-39 to 92 in 1956.

In Sweden, the agricultural labour force fell from 723,000 in 1940 (24 per cent of the total labour force) to 540,000 in 1950 (18 per cent) and 346,900 in 1960 (10.7 per cent). During this latter period, some 200,000 people left the land each year. (5)

In Switzerland, 69,469 men and 86,233 women left the land between 1939 and 1955. The number of male agricultural workers fell during this period from 344,235 to 274,863, i.e. a drop of 20 per cent. Between 1955 and 1960, a further reduction of about 10 per cent was recorded in

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(1) continued from previous page :

remembered, furthermore, that the study in question contains an analysis for certain countries of the factors which have influenced occupational migration, as well as certain consequences of the drift from the land.

(2) Statistical yearbook for 1954 and "Employment Survey", October 1960 (Statistical Study No. 2, 1962).

(3) Statistisches Jahrbuch, 1957-1962.

(4) Atti Parlamentari, Camera dei Deputati, Doc VII, N. 1, Relazione generale sulla Situazione Economica del Paese, Rome, 1963, p. 85.

(5) I.L.O. International Labour Review, May 1956, p. 509, and Statistisk Tidskrift (Central Bureau of Statistics) No. 6, 1962, p.379.

the male agricultural labour force. (1)

In the United Kingdom, the active agricultural population fell from 1,258,000 in 1931 to 1,116,000 in 1951, i.e. from 6 to 5 per cent of the total active population. Between 1952 and 1956, 16,800 people left the land each year, and 18,000 people each year between 1957 and 1961. The active agricultural population accounted in 1961 for only 4.2 per cent of the total active population. (2)

1. MOBILITY WITHIN THE COUNTRY

It is impossible to estimate the extent of the internal migration of rural workers to industry for lack of sufficient direct information on the subject. Although very extensive statistics are sometimes available on internal migration for a large number of countries, they cannot be used here as they state neither the occupational origin of the migrants nor what kind of job they take up after the move. In most cases, they make no distinction either between rural areas and industrial centres.

Norway and Sweden are the only exceptions: these two countries actually compile and regularly publish statistical data on internal migration, one series being in fact devoted to rural emigration to urban areas. In Norway, net immigration to the towns for the period 1949-1959 was 28,024, i.e. 9,873 men and 18,151 women. The average annual displacement is 2,548, with women accounting for 64 per cent.(3) The information concerning Sweden is given in the appended Tables 1 and 2 which show that, during the three years 1958-1960, the balance of migration from the country to the town was 23,291, of which 52.3 per cent were men. The 20-24 years old and the 15-19 years old formed the largest migrant age-group, each of which accounted for over 31 per cent of the total. The high proportion (6 per cent) of 50-60 year-old migrants will also be noted.(3)

The information concerning Greece has just been published and covers internal migration for the period between February 1956 and March 1961. The data were obtained from a sample survey in connection with the population and housing census of 1961.(4) The total number of migrants for this period was 644,800. Of this total, net immigration to the Athens district accounted for 95,500 workers (43,900 men and 51,600 women) from rural areas and 28,400 workers (12,900 men and 15,500 women) from

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(1) Banque Populaire Suisse, "Reflets", July 1963.

(2) Annual Abstract of Statistics, 1952-1961, and Monthly Digest of Statistics, 1957-1962.

(3) Statistical Yearbook.

(4) See "Results of the Population and Housing Census of 19th March, 1961 - Sample elaboration", Vol. V. Internal Migrations, Athens 1963, for information on the bases for these figures and for other details.

"semi-urban" areas. Net immigration to the Salonika district amounted to 16,800 workers (8,500 men and 8,300 women) from rural areas and 6,200 workers (2,200 men and 4,000 women) from "semi-urban" areas. Net immigration to the Patras district involved 5,400 workers (2,700 men and 2,700 women) from rural areas; the other urban centres combined had to absorb a net immigration of 82,100 workers (41,700 men and 40,400 women) from rural areas.

Finally, with regard to Italy, certain indirect information gives an idea of the movement of the rural population towards the towns. The last few years have witnessed massive departures from the southern regions and the islands, as well as from Venetia, towards the more industrial regions: Piedmont, Lombardy and Liguria. Net immigration from the South of Italy and the islands was estimated to be 800,000-900,000 during the period 1951-1961. On the whole, the rate of emigration from the southern regions of the country and the islands was 99.7 per 1,000 inhabitants, while immigration to the central and northern regions was 21.4 per 1,000 inhabitants; a glance at the provincial capitals shows that the rate of net immigration to the southern part of the country and the islands was barely 15.4 per 1,000 inhabitants, as against 152.5 per 1,000 in the other regions.(1)

The rates of increase and decrease per 1,000 inhabitants in the population in certain regions as a result of internal migratory movements were as follows:(1)

Piedmont	+ 10.2
Liguria	+ 8.8
Lombardy	+ 7.1
Latium	+ 5.7
Tuscany	+ 0.5
Calabria	- 17.2
The Abruzzi and Molise	- 15.0
Basilicata	- 12.7
Venetia	- 10.7
Apulia	- 10.0

The population increase as a result of immigration to the provinces of Milan and Turin, the country's two most important industrial centres, was as follows:(2)

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(1) Comitato dei Ministri per il Mezzogiorno: Relazione sulla attivita di coordinamento, Rome, April 1962, pages 279 et seq.

(2) "Mondo Economico" special issue: "Le capitali del Miracolo" 23-30/XII/1961.

Year	Milan	Turin
1956	43,687	35,751
1957	51,770	41,404
1958	64,974	32,003
1959	67,824	31,956
1960	65,606	61,139

This must not, however, be taken to mean that the movement from the less-developed areas towards the industrial centres consisted exclusively of migrants belonging to the agricultural population; many craftsmen and members of a wide range of non-agricultural occupations were also affected.

In France, net agricultural emigration to other industrial sectors involved 1.2 million men under 40 between 1921 and 1954. Between 1946 and 1954 alone, this movement appears to have concerned 470,000 men in this category. (1)

II. INTRA-EUROPEAN MOBILITY

More abundant information is available on the mobility of manpower across the frontiers of the various countries of Europe. Although the statistics to hand are from from satisfactory or complete, (2) they nevertheless give some idea of the scale of such movements, their origin and their destination, as well as of certain characteristics of the migrants - though more rarely.

Even, however, when information is plentiful, only indirect and approximate deductions can be made as to the emigration of workers from the land in one country to industry in another country.

Statistics exist for most Member countries of the O.E.C.D. but lack of coverage made it impossible to collect statistical information on Austria, Ireland, Iceland, Turkey and Yugoslavia.

The Tables appended to this report were drawn up for the main emigration and immigration countries which publish complete statistical series.

Where possible, statistics were collected as from 1958; there were two reasons for this: first, because statistical series covering the earlier period from the end of the war to 1957 were published in "International Migrations, 1945-1957" (study published by the I.L.O. in 1959), and secondly because international migration inside Europe mainly developed after 1958. (3)

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(1) I.L.O. "Why the workers leave the land".

(2) See I.L.O. "International migrations, 1945-1957", Geneva, 1959, pp. 151-152.

(3) Bibliographical note: these statistics were taken from the Statistical Yearbooks published in the countries concerned, sometimes

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Section I: Emigration

1. The main countries of emigration

The main flow of emigration has been from the southern countries, where manpower is still in surplus compared with employment vacancies. Surplus manpower is mainly if not exclusively to be found in agriculture, where there is generally unemployment and especially underemployment. The countries concerned are Spain, Greece, the southern part of Italy and the islands, Portugal and, more recently, Turkey.

A few years ago, Italy was still practically the only important source of continental emigration; until 1958, Spain had dealt only with transoceanic emigration, while Greek continental emigration accounted for only 25 per cent of the total permanent departures from that country.

As will be seen in greater detail in the next paragraph, the greater continental movement was due to the increased manpower requirements of the more industrialised countries of Europe. Tables 3, 7, 10 and 13 in Annex show this increase for the above-mentioned countries with the exception of Turkey, for which no information is available. The increase in Italian emigration was especially high in 1960 and 1961, whereas there was a decline in 1962 the extent of which could not be precisely estimated as the figures for that year were not comparable with those for the preceding years. Spanish emigration has increased more than sixfold since 1959 and Greek emigration is almost ten times greater. The Tables also show that the countries of destination are the Federal Republic of Germany, Switzerland and France and, to a lesser extent, Belgium, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. The rapid increase in the number of countries receiving Spanish emigrants will be noted.

Tables 5, 8, 12 and 14 show the migrants' regions of origin. This information cannot be given any cut and dried interpretation as some of the workers from urban centres probably come from the outskirts of big towns and are therefore of rural origin; conversely, workers from agricultural regions may come sometimes from large urban centres. In any case, the Tables show that only a minority come from the industrialised areas and urban centres of the countries in question. In Greece, only 14 per cent of the workers came from Athens during the period under

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(3) continued from previous page :

supplemented by information published in the monthly statistical bulletins issued from the same sources. The following additional sources should be mentioned: Federal Republic of Germany: "Ausländischer Arbeitnehmer", published by the Bundesanstalt für Arbeitsvermittlung und Arbeitslosenversicherung, Nuremberg; France: Bulletin statistique du travail et de la sécurité sociale, Direction générale du travail et de la main-d'oeuvre, Ministry of Labour; Netherlands: Soziale Maand-statistiek, published by the Bureau of Statistics; Italy and Luxembourg: information supplied by the respective Ministries of Labour; United Kingdom: Table 30 contains information published by the Ministry of Labour and Table 31 was based on information published by the Home Office. For the Federal Republic of Germany, see also: Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Sozialordnung: Arbeits- und Sozialstatistische Mitteilungen.

review.(1) In Spain, Madrid and Barcelona accounted for barely 11.5 per cent of total emigration. In Portugal, Lisbon and Oporto contributed a mere 3 per cent towards emigration. In Italy, the agricultural and underdeveloped areas in the South and the islands, together with Venetia, contributed 83 per cent towards emigration. The three most industrialised regions (Piedmont, Lombardy and Liguria) accounted for 3 per cent of the emigrants.

Tables 4 and 11 contain the only data available on emigrant's occupations. In Italy and Spain, agricultural workers accounted for some 33 and 60 per cent respectively; this category of emigrants has shrunk in Spain from 90 to 50 per cent. A large number of Spanish emigrants stated that they worked in the manufacturing industries, mining and quarrying, as well as in the services; in Italy, the largest groups were bricklayers, building labourers and domestic staff. When considering these figures, it should be remembered that the occupation given by emigrants when leaving their country is sometimes what they have actually been doing and sometimes what they want to do in the country of destination.

Tables 6,9,11 and 13 give a breakdown of migrants by sex. The proportion of women among Spanish emigrants has gradually increased from 4 per cent in 1959 to 18 per cent in 1962. The same is true for Greece where the proportion rose from 19 per cent in 1958 to 30 per cent in 1961. In Portugal, on the other hand, the percentage of female emigrants was 29 per cent in 1960 but only 16 in 1961. The majority of women who emigrated probably belonged to a migrant worker's family; in any event, little seems to be known about the emigration of female workers. In the case of Italy, the figures are known to refer to housewives, who have never exceeded 4 per cent of total emigration per annum.

Only Spain has given any information with regard to the age of emigrants: the largest age-group is 25 to 55, followed by 15 to 24; the number of emigrants aged 54 and over was relatively high (see Table 6).

2. Other countries of emigration

Mention should be made of certain countries where migration has been on a smaller scale. Some of these countries are both countries of emigration and centres of immigration. It is not therefore surprising to find them again when discussing immigration.

Finland has only a small emigration (440 in 1958, 370 in 1959 and 255 in 1960), mainly to the other Nordic countries. In Belgium, a country of immigration, emigration has increased appreciably in recent years; it is mainly directed towards the neighbouring countries and particularly affects the non-industrial occupations. The Netherlands is in a similar position and emigration is directed towards the neighbouring countries; it rose from 3,555 in 1958 to 4,159 in 1960; women accounted for about 40 per cent of this movement. There is also an emigration movement in Norway, mainly towards the other Nordic countries, which involved 7,475 workers in 1958 and 7,294 in 1959.

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(1) Unfortunately, Salonika is included in the figures supplied for Macedonia as a whole.

Section 2. Immigration

As mentioned in the preceding paragraph, the demand for manpower in the European countries with the most pronounced industrial structure increased to such an extent that they had to bring in more and more foreign workers and sometimes even workers from other continents. These movements have always taken place, however, under unilateral, bilateral or multilateral arrangements which, as we know, have been applied by the countries concerned (e.g. group of countries belonging to the Nordic Labour Market, the European Economic Community or the O.E.C.D.). The regulations are based on the principle of the protection of the home labour market and they restrict immigration or the employment of foreign workers to those cases where it has not been possible to fill a vacancy by a national worker or a foreign worker already resident in the country.

1. The main countries of immigration

The employment of foreign manpower has developed over the last few years and has been particularly prevalent in the Federal Republic of Germany (Tables 15 and 16) and Switzerland (Tables 34 and 35). In the Federal Republic, annual immigration increased sevenfold between 1958 and 1962 and the number of workers employed increased fivefold over the same period. In Switzerland, the annual number of work permits issued for the first time almost doubled over this same period, while the official census of foreign workers showed an increase of 75 per cent with the result that they now account for more than 25 per cent of the total labour force. In France, permanent immigration only began to increase in 1961 (Table 21). The same is true for Belgium (Table 19). In Luxembourg (Tables 24 and 26), the position is more or less stationary, although the number of foreign workers employed in 1962 amounted to 20 per cent of the total manpower employed. In Sweden (Table 32), the number of foreign workers employed rose by 25 per cent between 1959 and 1962. In the United Kingdom (Tables 30 and 31), the number of foreign workers employed increased by about 20 per cent between 1958 and 1961 but fell in 1962 by about 10 per cent.

With regard to the countries of origin of foreign manpower, the Tables concerning the countries of immigration bring out even more clearly the observations in the preceding paragraph, particularly in respect of Greek and Spanish emigration. In the absence of information on Turkish emigration, which is in any case of relatively recent date, certain statistics in the Tables on immigration show the contribution of this country to economic growth in Europe.

Foreign workers were mainly employed in the economic sectors suffering from shortages, which were more or less the same in the main receiving countries: agriculture, mining, building, metallurgy, domestic service and, occasionally, transport and textiles. Vacancies generally occurred in the relatively arduous occupations that national workers did not willingly take up and which they tended to avoid, especially agriculture and mining. At the same time, these were occupations which required more physical stamina than occupational skill. Nevertheless, a number of skilled foreign workers were employed in metallurgy and metal manufactures and even in building. With regard to agriculture, immigration in most cases made it possible to compensate at least partially for the nation-wide drift from the land; but the contribution of foreign manpower to this sector has tended to diminish in all the receiving countries; industry, and to a lesser extent, services, have absorbed the vast majority of foreign workers (Tables 17, 20, 23, 24, 29, 32, 34 and 36).

Of the workers employed in the Federal Republic of Germany as at 31st May, 1962, 18 per cent were women (Table 18). In Belgium, the number of work permits granted to women (Table 20) accounted for 27 per cent of the total in 1958 and 44 per cent, 46 per cent and 43 per cent in the three following years respectively; they were mainly employed in the manufacturing industries and services. In France, the number of women brought in and given employment (Table 22) between 1958 and 1960 rose from 9 to 18 per cent of the total. In Luxembourg (Table 24), 82 per cent of the foreign workers employed in 1962 were men. In Switzerland, the percentage of women in the official census of foreign workers in 1962 (Table 35) was the highest for the period concerned: 31 per cent. The employment of women in this country is particularly prevalent in the textiles and clothing industries, as well as in domestic service, where they outnumber men, and in the hotel and food industries. In the Netherlands, the number of work permits issued to women fell from 26 per cent of the total in 1960 to 18 per cent in 1962 (Table 29); they were mainly employed by the textiles and clothing industries and in domestic service.

Details as to the age breakdown of migrants are much more scarce, being available only for the Federal Republic of Germany (Table 18) and France (Table 22). In the Federal Republic of Germany, nearly 61 per cent of the workers employed at 31st May 1962, belonged to the 21-24 age-group; 53.5 per cent of the women also belonged to this group. Next came the 35-44 age-group for men (18.4 per cent) and the under-21 age-group for women (24.6 per cent). In France, which can produce figures only for the 1958-1960 period, the 25-29 age-group is the largest (28.3 per cent); the 20-24 age-group comes next (22.2 per cent), followed by the 30-34 age group (17.9 per cent). It is interesting to note that the proportion of the number of workers over 50 years old was 1.5 per cent.

2. Other countries of immigration

This account would be incomplete if no mention was made of the other countries which have experienced an immigration movement. These were, first of all, Austria, which recruited Spanish workers in 1962 as a result of a bilateral agreement; this is probably the beginning of more extensive immigration. In Denmark, foreign immigration amounted to 1,488 people in 1959, 2,090 in 1960 and 2,069 in 1961; the proportion of women among these immigrants was respectively 62 per cent, 60 per cent and 58 per cent. Part of this flow comes from Norway and Sweden, but most of the other European countries have also contributed. Finally, in Norway, for which information is only available for 1958 and 1959, immigration attained 7,000 to 8,000 workers for each of these two years. As at 31st May 1961, some 14,750 foreign workers were employed in this country, including 10,270 men.

Table 1

Sweden : Internal migration, by sex

Net immigration to the towns from rural areas

Year	Male	Female	Total
1958	9,735	12,482	22,222
1959	11,526	8,923	20,449
1960	15,221	11,981	27,202

Table 2

Sweden : By age-group

Net immigration to the towns from rural areas

Years	1958	1959	1960
0- 4	- 1,645	- 2,261	628
5- 9	- 64	836	1,196
10-14	759	62	944
15-19	7,113	6,785	8,176
20-24	7,461	7,188	7,484
25-29	2,212	1,519	3,302
30-34	- 379	217	251
35-39	- 126	929	- 32
40-44	1,327	527	723
45-49	+ 1,138	- 372	1,384
50-64	2,782	3,036	2,988
65 years and over	1,644	1,983	1,414
Total	22,222	20,449	27,202

Source: Statistik Arsbok för Sverige 1960, 1961, 1962.
(Statistika Centralbyran, Stockholm).

Table 3

Spain : Continental emigration, by country of destination

	1959	1960	1961	1962
France	-	31,338	76,917	98,035
Germany (F.R.)	-	9,500	27,115	35,936
Switzerland	-	-	4,070	10,190
Netherlands	-	-	744	2,584
Austria	-	-	-	503
Belgium	-	-	-	1,936
United Kingdom	-	-	-	732
Total	24,055	40,838	108,846	149,916

Table 4

Spain : Continental emigration by occupation

	1959	1960	1961	1962
Agriculture and fisheries	21,972	27,860	68,504	74,959
Mining and quarrying	571	82	3,698	5,049
Manufacturing industry	1,452	12,314	34,140	64,606
Services	53	132	1,145	3,676
Not specified	-	-	1,006	-
Others	7	450	353	1,626
Total	24,055	40,838	108,846	149,916

Table 5

Spain : Continental emigration, by region of origin

	1951	1960	1961	1962
Alicante	692	1,101	5,831	5,939
Barcelona	513	2,447	4,363	4,319
Cadiz	1,543	2,233	4,254	6,779
Cordova	1,248	1,822	4,171	4,919
Granada	1,263	1,645	3,328	4,609
Jaen	906	1,108	2,015	3,340
Madrid	1,889	4,570	7,521	12,302
Malaga	336	3,546	4,299	4,334
Seville	1,404	1,733	3,378	6,857
Tarragona	1,077	1,515	3,224	3,457
Teruel	1,344	1,532	2,486	2,511
Valencia	5,670	4,029	7,916	17,773
Saragossa	3,388	2,369	3,293	4,045
Others	1,782	11,188	52,767	68,732
Total	24,055	40,838	108,846	149,916

Table 6

Spain : Continental emigration, by age and sex

	1959			1960			1961			1962		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Under 14 years . . .	-	-	-	52	-	52	48	89	137	806	208	1,014
15 to 24 years . . .	1,704	252	1,956	4,630	1,281	5,911	15,899	10,060	29,959	40,086	8,593	48,679
25 to 54 years . . .	21,572	481	22,053	33,359	1,509	34,868	63,995	9,013	73,008	90,577	9,615	100,192
55 years and over. .	46	-	46	6	1	7	534	394	928	19	12	31
Total.	23,322	733	24,055	38,047	2,791	40,838	84,476	19,556	104,032	131,488	18,428	149,916
Age not specified. .							3,053	761	4,814	-	-	-
Grand total.	23,322	733	24,055	38,047	2,791	40,838	87,529	20,317	108,846	131,488	18,428	149,916

Table 7

Greece : Continental emigration, by country of destination

(permanent emigration)

Country	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962
Austria	1,287	752	574	457	870
Belgium	800	332	605	850	4,325
France	321	348	486	666	1,023
Germany (F.R.).	1,975	2,543	21,532	31,107	49,532
Italy	1,400	1,706	1,886	2,105	1,916
United Kingdom	306	399	644	839	894
Switzerland	200	371	884	3,143	(1)
Other countries	278	262	316	397	2,214
Total	6,567	6,713	26,927	39,564	60,754

(1) Included with the other countries

Table 8

Greece : Permanent continental emigration, by migrants' region of residence

Region of residence	1959	1960	1961
Athens	2,117	4,446	4,512
Central Greece and Euboea	193	501	663
Peloponnese	293	927	1,460
Ionian Islands	124	249	510
Epirus	133	1,116	1,765
Thessaly	207	537	813
Macedonia	1,667	10,143	10,471
Thrace	421	2,065	2,270
Aegean Islands	258	557	900
Crete	140	298	686
Not specified	1,074	5,088	14,500
Total.	6,713	26,927	39,564

Table 9

Greece : Permanent continental emigration, by sex

	1958	1959	1960	1961
Men	5,311	5,371	21,588	27,871
Women	1,256	1,342	5,359	11,693
Total.	6,567	6,713	26,947	39,564

Table 10

Italy : Assisted and private emigration, by country of destination

Country of destination	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962
Netherlands	311	251	1,260	2,152	2,000
Germany (F.R.).	10,511	28,394	100,544	114,012	104,974
Belgium	3,947	4,083	4,915	4,718	752
Luxembourg.	6,187	5,404	5,237	5,196	6,101
France	72,469	64,259	58,624	49,188	33,000
United Kingdom	6,464	7,360	10,118	11,003	6,922
Switzerland	57,453	82,532	128,257	142,114	145,010
Austria	156	208	390	463	273
Greece	83	24	26	115	15
Other countries	219	328	505	636	206
Total	157,800	192,843	309,876	329,597	314,070

Table 11

Italy : Assisted and private emigration, by occupation

Occupation	1958	1959	1960	1961
Workers	139,605	177,991	293,925	314,593
Farm and forestry workers . . .	49,283	61,070	72,642	75,058
Miners	5,367	4,139	7,424	7,860
Shoemakers, tailors	1,405	2,946	7,540	8,494
Joiners	2,272	4,147	7,752	7,974
Bricklayers, building labourers	45,240	54,820	119,878	135,888
Waiters, cooks and servants . .	14,486	19,816	36,947	40,430
Others	21,552	31,053	41,742	38,889
No trade	16,072	14,852	15,951	15,004
Housewives	8,037	7,992	8,543	8,961
Not specified	2,123	-	-	-
Total	157,800	192,843	309,876	329,597

Table 12

Italy : Assisted continental emigration, by region of origin

Region of origin	1960	1961	1962
Piedmont and Aosta	1,589	1,190	848
Liguria	1,604	1,415	876
Lombardy	3,692	2,562	1,449
Trentino Upper Adige	1,592	1,490	692
Venetia	26,645	21,343	12,125
Friuli-Julian Venetia	4,323	3,409	1,972
Emilia	7,795	5,918	3,218
Northern Italy	47,509	37,327	21,180
Tuscany	3,786	2,999	1,653
The Marches	7,631	7,043	4,439
Umbria	2,852	2,499	1,598
Latium	5,975	8,622	6,304
Central Italy	20,244	21,163	13,994
Abruzzi and Molise	17,901	16,802	10,868
Campania	22,779	27,066	21,049
Apulia	59,552	58,646	38,379
Lucania	6,492	8,391	5,356
Calabria	9,059	11,306	8,665
Southern Italy	115,783	122,211	84,317
Sicily	13,017	18,183	16,452
Sardinia	6,755	9,797	6,878
Italian Islands	19,782	27,980	23,330
Total	203,309	208,781	142,821

Table 13

Portugal : Continental emigration, by country of destination and sex

Country of destination	1958	1959	1960			1961		
	Total	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
France	4,654	3,542	2,597	996	3,593	4,634	812	5,446
Other countries. .	129	136	102	109	212	425	156	581
Total.	4,785	3,678	2,700	1,105	3,805	5,059	968	6,027

Table 14

Portugal : Continental emigration, by origin and sex

Origin	1958	1959	1960			1961		
	Total	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Lisbon	43	44	19	20	39	170	92	262
Oporto	31	20	8	5	13	12	11	23
Rest of Portugal and Islands. . .	4,711	3,614	2,673	1,080	3,753	4,877	865	5,742
Total	4,785	3,678	2,700	1,105	3,805	5,059	968	6,027

Table 15

Germany (F.R.) : Immigration of foreign workers, by country of origin

	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962
Italy	19,398	42,364	141,168	165,667	165,002
Netherlands	8,267	7,872	16,470	28,462	29,241
Greece	1,499	2,463	23,334	36,553	47,494
Spain	1,137	1,885	26,703	51,117	54,893
Austria	8,025	10,626	17,419	19,111	16,294
Other European countries.	10,219	13,661	23,679	29,871	64,702
Europe Total.	48,545	78,871	248,773	343,795	377,626
Non-European workers . .	3,290	4,893	8,634	15,417	16,602
Stateless workers	2,221	869	1,059	1,055	760
Grand Total	54,056	84,633	258,466	359,267	394,988
Of which women.	8,323	12,963	30,023	54,482	74,243

Table 16

Germany (F.R.) : Foreign workers employed, by nationality

Date	Italian	Spanish	Greek	Others	Total European	Non-European	Grand Total
31.7.58	31,500	1,500	2,900	96,000	132,300	4,100	136,300
31.7.59	48,800	2,200	4,100	105,200	160,300	6,500	166,800
31.7.60	121,700	9,500	13,000	125,300	269,500	9,900	279,400
30.6.61	218,000	51,000	43,900	194,500(1)	-	-	507,400
31.1.63	215,700	97,145	89,048	230,256	632,155	30,690	662,845

(1) Includes non-European workers

Table 17

Germany (F.R.) : Foreign workers employed, by occupation

	31.7.58	31.7.59	31.7.60	30.6.61	31.1.63
Agriculture.	7,116	7,673	8,599	10,442	7,033
Coalmines and fuel and power	12,984	11,656	11,887	18,948	38,930
Metal production and manufactures	23,753	29,310	71,497	142,587	225,426
Building	22,193	35,668	71,394	114,361	116,016
Textiles and clothing. . .	5,819	6,378	17,839	31,697	59,649
Other manufacturing industries	28,627	32,798	36,959	66,551	166,171
Domestic service	4,122	4,949	4,401	4,696	5,301
Hotels and catering. . . .	-	-	11,063	15,383	16,532
Others	31,682	38,397	45,751	102,635	27,787
Total.	136,296	166,829	279,390	507,400	662,845

Table 18

Germany (F.R.) : Foreign workers employed at 31.5.62, by age, sex and country of origin

	Italy		Greece		Spain		Turkey		Other Countries		Total	
		%		%		%		%		%		%
Men												
Under 21	28,644	12.1	4,713	10.0	4,868	7.6	462	3.6	18,955	11.7	57,662	11.1
21 to 34	144,112	61.0	34,275	72.8	44,626	70.2	10,416	81.8	84,206	51.9	317,635	60.8
35 to 44	45,285	19.2	6,518	13.8	12,151	19.1	1,583	12.4	30,719	18.9	96,256	18.4
45 and over.	18,315	7.7	1,592	3.4	1,960	3.1	274	2.2	28,360	17.5	50,501	9.7
Total	236,375	100	47,099	100	63,605	100	12,735	100	162,240	100	522,054	100
Women												
Under 21	5,911	25.9	3,051	16.3	3,169	15.7	152	13.0	15,343	30.9	112,549	24.6
21 to 34	12,424	54.5	13,506	72.1	13,518	66.7	791	67.8	19,994	40.3	60,233	53.5
35 to 44	3,087	13.6	1,818	9.7	2,931	14.5	169	14.5	8,309	16.8	16,314	14.5
45 and over.	1,370	6.0	347	1.9	635	3.1	55	4.7	5,969	12.0	8,376	7.4
Total	22,792	100	18,722	100	20,253	100	1,167	100	49,615	100	112,394	100

Table 19

Belgium : Number of work permits issued for the first time to foreign workers, by nationality and sex

	1958	1959	1960	1961
Italian				
Male	4,411	1,657	1,698	3,050
Female	2,015	1,658	1,819	2,349
Total.	6,426	3,315	3,787	5,399
Turkish				
Male	4	8	91	12
Female	2	3	41	4
Total.	6	11	132	16
Portuguese				
Male	49	28	53	61
Female	44	29	40	42
Total.	93	57	93	103
Spanish				
Male	1,057	253	418	787
Female	438	445	818	364
Total.	1,945	698	1,236	1,151
Greek				
Male	1,883	72	17	196
Female	30	32	91	174
Total.	1,913	104	108	370
Other countries				
Male	5,898	2,794	2,535	2,694
Female	2,626	1,576	1,555	2,108
Total.	8,524	4,370	4,090	4,802
Total				
Male	13,752	4,812	6,082	6,800
Female	5,155	3,743	4,364	5,041
Total.	18,907	8,555	9,446	11,841

Table 20

Belgium : by sex and occupation

	1958			1959			1960			1961		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Agriculture, forestry and fisheries	153	25	178	102	21	123	77	15	92	76	15	91
Mining and quarrying . . .	6,144	64	6,208	551	24	575	425	13	438	1,056	21	1,077
Manufacturing industries. .	3,189	1,215	4,404	2,618	1,003	3,621	3,100	1,479	4,579	3,847	2,179	6,026
Building	1,134	121	1,255	361	21	382	349	24	373	586	28	614
Transport and communications	181	35	216	95	21	116	97	18	115	122	27	149
Commerce.	637	675	1,312	408	439	847	380	413	793	453	445	898
Hotels and personal services	1,557	678	2,235	243	143	386	210	120	330	208	120	328
Services.	731	2,327	3,068	428	2,066	2,494	442	2,282	2,724	452	2,206	2,658
Others.	16	15	31	6	5	11	2	-	2	-	-	-
Total	13,752	5,155	18,907	4,812	3,743	8,555	5,082	4,364	9,446	6,800	5,041	11,841

Table 21

France : Permanent foreign workers brought in and given employment

Nationality	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962
Italian.	51,138	21,262	19,513	23,805	21,513
Spanish.	22,697	14,716	21,408	39,591	63,497
Portuguese	5,054	3,339	4,006	6,716	12,916
German	1,077	953	1,019	1,324	1,583
Yugoslav	484	341	161	-	-
Belgian	333	286	306	591	542
Swiss	299	306	341	427	440
Others	1,727	2,976	2,147	6,525	12,528
Total.	82,809	44,179	48,901	78,879	113,019

Table 22

France : Foreign workers brought in and found employment, by age and sex

Age group	1958			1959			1960			1961		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
0 - 20 years . . .	6,027	909	6,936	2,975	835	3,810	3,167	1,010	4,177	5,695	1,673	7,368
20 - 24 years . . .	16,319	2,137	18,456	7,996	2,199	10,195	8,659	2,718	11,377	12,919	3,907	16,826
25 - 29 years . . .	21,257	1,653	22,910	10,906	1,776	12,682	11,201	1,975	13,176	18,735	2,949	21,684
30 - 34 years . . .	13,996	1,105	15,101	6,577	1,073	7,650	7,466	1,259	8,725	12,820	1,779	14,599
35 - 39 years . . .	8,660	729	9,389	4,205	737	4,942	4,903	854	5,757	8,317	1,222	9,539
40 - 44 years . . .	4,626	174	5,100	1,927	462	2,389	2,393	517	2,910	3,960	823	4,783
45 - 49 years . . .	3,389	328	3,717	1,484	330	1,814	1,522	426	1,948	2,166	622	2,788
50 and over	1,029	171	1,200	508	189	697	615	216	831	927	360	1,287
Total	75,303	7,506	82,809	36,578	7,601	44,179	39,926	8,975	48,901	65,538	13,335	78,874

Table 23

France : Breakdown of foreign workers(1) brought in and given employment by the National Immigration Office in 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961 and 1962, by industrial sector

Sector	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962
Agriculture	10,728	7,243	7,071	7,693	7,128
Forestry.	6,449	2,681	3,312	7,165	5,447
Mining	5,869	4,255	1,273	4,435	7,043
Metals	14,892	6,083	8,816	14,945	26,888
Building	29,553	12,512	14,852	23,920	39,316
Domestic service	6,633	6,756	7,993	11,020	11,548
Other occupations	8,684	4,649	5,584	9,701	15,649
Total	82,808	44,179	48,901	78,879	113,019

(1) Permanent workers only

Table 24

Luxembourg : Immigration of foreign workers, by occupation

Sector	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962
Agriculture and forestry.	673	502	379	346	268
Quarrying	91	81	89	98	62
Building.	8,089	8,042	8,050	8,726	5,363
Office work and commerce.	185	172	287	332	242
Transport	198	201	197	168	115
Hotels and catering . . .	492	462	483	515	351
Musicians, artists. . . .	603	620	543	552	366
Services	1,246	1,119	1,124	969	1,138
Food, textiles and clothing, and others. .	2,185	1,906	2,155	2,591	1,035
Total	13,762	13,105	13,307	14,297	9,106
of which Men.	11,677	11,073	11,309	12,115	7,450
Women.	2,085	2,032	1,998	2,182	1,656

Table 25

Luxembourg : Immigration of foreign workers, by nationality

Nationality	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962
Belgian	818	753	790	715	851
Dutch	128	221	208	130	186
French	482	463	561	630	528
German	3,166	3,136	3,137	2,370	1,242
Italian	8,736	8,194	8,111	9,823	5,427
Others	432	338	500	629	872
Total	13,762	13,105	13,307	14,297	9,106
of which Men.	11,677	11,073	11,309	12,115	7,450
Women.	2,085	2,032	1,998	2,182	1,656

Table 26

Luxembourg : Foreign workers employed, by nationality and sex

Nationality	1961			1962		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Belgian	3,110	228	3,348	3,199	257	3,456
Dutch	214	37	251	249	67	316
French	1,215	560	1,775	1,401	664	2,065
German	4,475	1,892	6,367	4,898	1,974	6,872
Italian	11,052	1,689	12,741	12,676	1,912	14,588
Others	1,036	263	1,299	1,476	329	1,805
Stateless	800	210	1,010	732	204	936
Total	21,902	4,889	26,791	24,631	5,407	30,038

Table 27

Luxembourg : Foreign workers employed, by occupation and sex

Sector	1961			1962		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Agriculture and forestry	1,391	67	1,458	845	39	884
Quarrying	1,088	-	1,088	1,283	-	1,283
Manufacturing and craft industries	6,659	17	6,676	7,932	148	8,080
Building	9,300	-	9,300	12,400	-	12,400
Hotels and catering	212	295	507	242	402	644
Others	3,252	4,510	7,762	1,929	4,818	6,747
Total	21,902	4,889	26,791	24,631	5,407	30,038

Table 28

Netherlands : Number of work permits issued to foreigners at 31st May
Breakdown by country of origin and sex

Country of origin	Belgium	Germany	Italy	Spain	United Kingdom	Other countries (incl.Europe,USA, stateless persons and refugees)	Total
1958							
Male	4,125	5,156	3,239	-	817	11,310	24,647
Female	1,257	3,720	329	-	262	1,719	7,287
Total	5,382	8,876	3,568	-	1,079	13,029	31,934
1959							
Male	3,753	4,464	1,824	-	849	10,192	21,082
Female	1,570	3,189	306	-	253	1,552	6,870
Total	5,323	7,653	2,130	-	1,102	11,744	27,952
1960							
Male	5,694	4,699	1,803	-	987	10,341	23,524
Female	2,061	3,792	351	-	284	1,715	8,203
Total	7,755	8,491	2,154	-	1,271	12,056	31,727
1961							
Male	-	5,032	4,057	-	993	10,884	20,966
Female	-	3,091	524	-	283	1,636	5,534
Total	-	8,123	4,581	-	1,276	12,520	26,500
1962							
Male	-	5,120	6,001	2,298	1,174	10,957	25,550
Female	-	2,927	594	-	311	1,917	5,749
Total	-	8,047	6,595	2,298	1,485	12,874	31,299

Table 29

Netherlands : Number of work permits issued to foreigners at 31st May

Breakdown by occupation and sex

Sector	1958			1959			1960			1961			1962		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
1. Pottery and glass .	1,058	120	1,178	627	90	717	957	125	1,082	568	148	716	633	220	853
4. Building. .	1,529	-	1,529	1,550	-	1,550	1,685	-	1,685	1,481	-	1,481	1,817	-	1,817
5. Chemical industry. .	1,092	-	1,092	876	-	876	989	-	989	555	-	555	655	-	655
6. Wood and cork. . . .	327	-	327	282	-	282	326	-	326	304	-	304	293	-	293
9. Leather, rubber. . .	451	114	565	473	137	610	648	175	823	514	104	618	896	111	1,007
10. Mining. . .	5,136	-	5,136	3,531	-	3,531	2,660	-	2,660	2,135	-	2,135	2,274	-	2,274
11. Metallurgy.	5,378	537	5,915	4,434	590	5,024	5,478	734	6,212	6,211	280	6,491	8,557	349	8,906
15. Textiles, clothing. .	1,202	1,884	3,086	1,072	1,621	2,693	1,450	1,673	3,123	1,769	1,133	2,902	2,276	1,067	3,343
17. Food. . . .	1,683	487	2,170	1,670	588	2,258	2,198	740	2,938	823	179	1,002	936	143	1,079
18. Agriculture	358	-	358	346	-	346	316	-	316	234	-	234	236	-	236
20. Commerce. .	1,749	742	2,491	1,704	752	2,456	1,770	792	2,562	1,690	697	2,387	1,854	756	2,610
21. Transport .	1,900	434	2,334	1,748	426	2,174	2,005	465	2,470	2,023	420	2,443	2,378	447	2,825
Domestic Service . .	-	1,482	1,482	-	1,172	1,172	-	1,238	1,238	-	1,066	1,066	-	1,109	1,109
34. Others. . .	2,784	1,487	4,271	2,769	1,494	4,263	3,042	2,261	5,303	2,659	1,507	4,166	2,745	1,547	4,292
Total . . .	24,647	7,287	31,934	21,082	6,870	27,952	23,524	8,203	31,727	20,966	5,534	26,500	25,550	5,749	31,299

Table 30

United Kingdom : Foreign workers recruited in groups and allowed into the country on individual permits

Year	Workers recruited in groups	Individual permits	Total
1958	843	39,215	40,058
1959	813	40,100	40,913
1960	1,061	46,168	47,229
1961	1,143	47,308	48,451
1962	580	43,074	43,654

Table 31

United Kingdom : Admission of workers from other European countries

Year	For less than 12 months	For 12 months			Total
		M	F	Total	
1959 . . .	12,123	5,932	19,742	25,674	37,797
1960 . . .	12,975	9,731	20,252	21,983	42,958
1961 . . .	14,896	11,365	19,635	31,000	45,896
1962 . . .	14,713	9,578	16,397	25,975	40,688

Table 32

Sweden : Number of foreign workers employed at 1st April, by nationality

Nationality	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962
Danish		18,529	19,014	18,889	18,781
Norwegian		8,867	9,733	10,184	10,931
Finnish		37,364	42,286	47,253	51,388
Italian		2,484	2,690	3,188	3,680
German		13,738	13,838	13,952	14,534
Others		17,280	18,531	20,136	22,613
Total	115,144	98,262	106,092	113,144	121,747

Table 33

Sweden : Number of foreign workers employed at 1st April, by occupation

Sector	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962
Agriculture and forestry	11,363	8,817	9,403	10,610	10,498
Industry and manufacturing, mining	55,294	45,450	49,636	55,984	61,170
Transport, communications	8,378	6,897	8,207	8,579	10,033
Commerce, hotels	13,354	12,771	13,659	11,718	12,774
Administration, office work	8,584	8,100	8,494	9,248	10,025
Public Health Service.	5,739	5,462	5,662	5,886	6,373
Domestic Service	7,309	6,236	6,035	5,893	4,739
Others	5,123	4,529	4,966	5,026	6,135
Total	115,144	98,262	106,092	113,144	121,747

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Table 34

Switzerland : Residence permits issued for the first time to foreign workers, by industrial sector

Sector	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962
Agriculture	32,041	28,625	25,736	25,313	18,845
Food	7,894	6,409	8,422	11,329	12,408
Textiles, clothing etc.	16,792	22,063	31,380	36,883	36,804
Metalworking, mechanical engineering	19,497	23,482	42,621	61,223	61,409
Building, glass, wood, quarrying	85,159	101,188	135,160	173,233	200,856
Domestic Service	19,741	18,837	16,657	15,708	15,691
Hotels and catering	48,122	47,151	47,738	52,772	55,763
Others	25,360	26,142	34,223	46,087	53,977
Total	254,606	273,897	341,937	422,548	455,753
of which Men	127,606	190,529	248,538	312,943	343,585
Women	82,000	83,368	93,399	109,668	112,168

Table 35

Switzerland : Official census of foreign workers in Switzerland at 1st August, by nationality

Year	German	French	Italian	Austrian	Spanish	Others	Total	of which	
								Men	Women
1958	76,231	8,565	235,765	32,713	-	10,117	363,391	225,884	137,507
1959	71,426	8,841	242,806	30,382	-	11,323	364,778	232,292	132,486
1960	72,365	11,932	303,090	31,604	6,408	10,077	435,476	288,351	147,125
1961	73,466	16,123	392,060	30,152	21,801	14,670	548,312	374,783	173,529
1962	77,678	18,730	454,402	29,001	44,226	20,669	644,706	443,061	201,645

Table 36

Switzerland : Official census of workers, by occupation and sex

	Agriculture	Food	Textiles clothing cleaning	Metalworking mechanical engineering	Building glass quarrying wood	Hotels and catering	Domestic service	Other occupational groups	Total	Of which frontier workers
1958										
Male	29,505	7,444	7,330	47,486	86,044	20,073	840	27,162	225,884	22,602
Female	2,588	4,012	31,673	7,865	1,262	39,055	33,266	17,786	137,507	14,955
Total.	32,093	11,456	39,003	55,351	87,306	59,128	34,106	44,848	363,391	37,557
1959										
Male	27,463	6,522	6,852	43,342	97,960	20,918	721	28,514	232,292	21,522
Female	2,184	3,703	31,785	6,898	1,065	39,597	30,792	16,462	132,486	13,391
Total.	29,647	10,225	38,637	50,240	99,025	60,515	31,513	44,976	364,778	34,913
1960										
Male	25,860	7,333	10,170	56,567	128,218	24,101	823	35,279	288,351	25,010
Female	1,932	4,501	40,170	9,893	1,450	38,165	29,475	21,539	147,125	14,409
Total.	27,792	11,834	50,340	66,460	129,668	62,266	30,298	56,818	435,476	39,419
1961										
Male	22,865	9,552	13,973	81,923	170,981	27,497	972	47,020	374,783	27,680
Female	1,716	6,524	48,693	15,354	2,169	39,408	28,089	31,574	173,529	14,809
Total.	24,581	16,076	62,688	97,277	173,150	66,905	29,061	78,594	548,312	42,489
1962										
Male	20,719	11,743	16,997	102,442	200,496	29,786	1,072	59,806	443,061	29,499
Female	1,535	8,885	56,416	19,236	2,843	41,344	27,755	43,631	201,645	15,384
Total.	22,254	20,628	73,413	121,678	201,339	71,130	28,827	103,437	644,706	44,883

Report No. 2

TECHNIQUES FOR ADAPTATION OF RURAL WORKERS TO INDUSTRY

(Internal Migration)

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1. DEMOGRAPHIC AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS

The following brief reference to the demographic and economic aspects of internal migration is intended solely to recall these particular dimensions of the problem; analysis of these aspects and the study of their correlations within the social context do not come within the scope of this report.

1.1 Demographic aspects

The movement of manpower from the primary sector to others may in the first instance appear as migration from prevailingly agricultural areas to industrial areas, or areas becoming industrialised. It may subsequently take the form of a shift from one sector to another, without actual migration: this occurs, for example, when industrial plant is transferred into rural areas, (1) or when symptoms of saturation appear in a determined area, within the development process.

The following report is mainly concerned with labour movements from agriculture to industry involving migration. In this case, in fact, the geographic mobility of manpower raises a series of problems in adaptation of immigrant labour at various levels.

Migrants from the land towards the towns generally move with their families. In 1958, for example, 43 out of every 100 persons migrating from Southern Italy to the Centre and North were members of the working population, whereas 57 were not. (2)

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(1) Cf. E. Höök: "Befolkningsutveckling och arbetskraftsvörsörjning", Stockholm, 1952.
(2) See ISTAT 1959.

At the same time, migration causes changes in family structure: statistics reveal that in expanding or developing countries, the number of families increases, while their relative size decreases in parallel.(1)

Table 1

Age groups in agriculture, Germany(2)

Age group	% in 1933	% in 1961
less than 20	13.3	5.4
20 - 39 years.	45.0	37.0
40 - 59 years.	30.5	37.2
60 and above	11.2	20.4

In areas of arrival, immigrants tend to converge on the large centres, where heavy industry is mainly concentrated. Once saturation of the towns begins to raise the cost of building land and hence of accommodation, they may turn towards the "industrial belts" around cities: in Switzerland, for example, the overall increase of population between 1950 and 1960 in large industrial centres was 15 per cent, whereas the population increase in peripheral "communes" was 50 per cent. (3)

Regarding future developments in internal migration, it has been calculated that one third of the present agricultural manpower will have left the land in Western Europe by 1970. (4) According to the forecasts of the I.L.O., about half the sons of farmworkers or other male members of rural families in Common Market countries who were less than 14 years old in 1956, will have left the land by 1971. (5)

1.2 Economic aspects

The rate of manpower movement from agriculture to other sectors seems related to the rate of economic growth. In economically developed countries, or in those which are developing, the absolute and relative decrease of manpower in agriculture has been and is both rapid and substantial.

The percentages of active populations in agriculture over about twenty years illustrate development (see table 2). (6)

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(1) In Italy, the average family in 1951 had four members, the average for 1961 being three.

(2) See "Wirtschaftswissenschaftliches Institut der Gewerkschaften", January 1963.

(3) See G. Beijer: "Rural Migrants in Urban Setting", The Hague, 1963.

(4) See OECD(18/04) Draft Report on "Excess Manpower in Agriculture", 1963.

(5) See I.L.O. "Why workers leave the Land", Geneva 1960, p. 108.

(6) See I.L.O., op. cit. and statistical publications sent by various European countries.

Of the various causes determining the rate of manpower decrease in agriculture, the rapid rate at which new jobs are created in other sectors may be indicated: a rate of increase of new jobs greater than the rate of natural growth of the working force in industry and services may well be an incentive for those in agriculture to leave the land.

Table 2

Percentage of manpower in agriculture

Country	Year	% in agriculture of total manpower	Year	% in agriculture of total manpower
Canada	1941	26	1951	16
United States. . .	1940	19	1957	10
Austria.	1937	40	1962	23
Belgium.	1930	17	1960	8
Denmark.	1940	28	1950	22
France	1936	36	1959	24
Germany (F.R.) . .	1950	23	1961	13.8
Great Britain. . .	1931	6	1961	4.2
Italy	1951	42.2	1962	27.7
Norway	1946	21.5	1950	18
Holland.	1949	14.2	1956	11.5
Spain	1940	52	1957	50
Sweden	1950	18	1960	10.7
Switzerland. . . .	1941	21	1960	12
Turkey	1950	84	1957	77

The movement from agriculture to the other sectors appears to exist in highly industrialised and less industrialised countries to a similar extent. Table 3 supports this view :

Table 3

Percentage of manpower leaving agriculture

Country	Years	(a)	(b)
United States	1950/61	35-40	3
Denmark	1950/60	40-50	7-8
France	1946/61	25-30	6-7
Italy	1951/62	40	11
Great Britain	1951/61	17	1
Holland	1947/61	50	6-7
Sweden	1950/60	45	5

(a) % of agricultural labour
(b) % of active population
(percentages calculated on manpower at end of period) (1)

Various factors combine in determining the relationships between increased income in certain areas and the attraction for manpower of these areas. Expert opinion is divided concerning the complex relationships existing between income increases in immigrational areas, and immigration.

In considering what is the contribution of immigration to the economy of such areas, it appears that amongst the other factors, the low level of skill of immigrant labour must be considered.

In the early nineteen hundreds, most of the immigrants arriving in the United States were already finding employment in the mines and factories, thanks solely to the introduction at that time of mechanization. (2) Automation may further reduce the effective contribution of immigration to economic development in areas of arrival (unless substantial changes occur in occupational training) limiting this contribution to a purely quantitative element.

Regarding variations in distribution per sector of national income and in productivity, it has been observed in attempting to forecast migratory developments, that the greater the difference between average personal income in agriculture and that in other sectors, the greater the movement of manpower away from the land. It is a supposition that the abandonment of the land begins as the difference becomes greater than 30-35 per cent, and that it slows down as the difference sinks to about 20 per cent. (3) Data relating to Denmark, produced as an example in Table 4 below, show the percentages: (a) of agricultural manpower in total active population; (b) of net income in agriculture, in national net income; (c) of income per worker in agriculture, of income per worker in other sectors, in 1900 and 1950. (4)

Table 4

Year	(a)	(b)	(c)
1900.	40%	25%	50%
1950.	22%	20%	80%

The flow of manpower from agriculture into other sectors should therefore tend to diminish as the mean income per worker in agriculture

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(1) See O.E.C.D., op. cit. For Italy see processed ISTAT data.
(2) See B. Thomas, "International Migration and Economic Development:, Unesco, Paris, 1961, p. 10-11.
(3) See I.L.O., op. cit., p.15.
(4) See I.L.O., op. cit., p.46.

2. SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ASPECTS

2.1 Factors affecting the decision to emigrate

What are the factors which determine the decision to emigrate? First, two general remarks:

(a) The change from transcontinental or international migration to internal migration is not a matter of the emigrant's choice, but depends rather on the economic policy of the country in which he lives: surplus manpower in agriculture converges on the urban districts when the formation of capital in these districts is rapid. If capital is exported - as in the case of England, where the tendency between the last half of the last century and the first ten years of the present century, was to export capital to America - surplus agricultural manpower follows the capital. (1)

(b) If it is true that migratory movement is from underdeveloped to highly developed areas, that is to say, initiated by situations of economic and social stagnation, it is also true that such movement represents, at least in the person of the emigrant, the first manifestation of the desire to emerge from stagnation.

2.1.1 Economic factors

The decision to leave the land in highly developed, underdeveloped and developing countries is essentially promoted by economic considerations. The farmworker, in practice, has no choice: incomes and wages are low; there is no guarantee of employment, nor is there any hope of advancement. The possible advantages of employment in other sectors, however, are evident: higher pay, more regular and shorter hours, security, social benefits.

The ratio of mobility of rural populations towards other occupations is in fact determined by the possibility of employment outside of agriculture, in the same way that the rate of movement is determined by economic development and investments, that is to say, by the possibilities of expansion of employment in the zones of attraction.

On the other hand, in economically developed countries, and those in the process of development, a further factor must be considered in addition to the relative smallness of agricultural incomes and wages as compared with those in other sectors: this is the rapid increase of agricultural output through rationalisation, as increase which outstrips the rate of increase of demand. In countries where industry and services are developing, the increase of incomes generally results in a percentage reduction of expenditure on food, as compared with other expenditures. This means that there is little or no increase in the demand for food, or at any rate a smaller increase than in the demand for other commodities. Thus, although agricultural productivity is sometimes increased in parallel with that of other productive sectors, consumption of agricultural produce does not follow the same trend.

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(1) See B. Thomas, op. cit., p. 11.

Specific cases may be indicated:

In Sweden (1), for example, where small-holdings are particularly numerous, the main cause for leaving the land may be sought in the higher incomes derived from other occupations; secondly, in the introduction of mechanisation in agriculture, where the machine competes successfully with man for work.

Over the last 20 years, in fact, the price of machinery has doubled, while the wages of farm labour have increased five times, though still remaining below wages in other levels. As a consequence, about two thirds of the farmers have no permanent employees at all, the remainder having an average of 1½ each.

The reduction in the number of small-holders mentioned earlier has been calculated at 5-6,000 units per year between 1950 and 1960, and a further reduction of about 2½ per cent per year is expected by 1970. However, in view of the existing relationship between productivity in agriculture and the demand for agricultural produce, Swedish experts do not consider that this loss will have any substantial effect on production.

The reduction of the number of farmers would in fact always remain limited when compared with the contraction of the national agricultural produce market, and the low level of prices on international markets. Moreover, the possibilities of accelarating necessary structural changes are limited, because two thirds of the small-holders are of an age that prevents their entry into the existing labour market. This would appear to be one of the problems of Swedish agricultural policy.

In Great Britain, which compared to other European countries has an exceptionally low percentage of manpower employed in agriculture, those leaving the land are mainly wage-earners, who consider themselves badly paid. Although Britain, with Denmark and Holland, is one of the countries in which income from agriculture per head is almost equivalent to that in other sectors, the wages of farm labour were equivalent to 50 per cent of wages in industry between 1850 and 1938. The situation did not improve subsequently, though during the course of the second World War farming wages rose to almost [illegible]0 per cent of industrial wages, beginning to sink again in the post-war years, however slightly.

The survey conducted in the West of England into the reasons for leaving the land blamed other factors than the economic considerations mentioned: long and irregular working hours, the farming system in general, and the conditions of housing /̅tied cottages, cheaply rented from the farmer (1)7.

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(1) See Odd Gulbrandsen, "The structural transformation in Swedish agriculture and migration", English version, Stockholm 1959.

In France (2), the reduction of manpower in agriculture appears to have been initiated by the abandonment of cereals for animal husbandry, and the installation of industries connected with stock raising. The cultivated surface was reduced by 25 per cent between the end of the last century and 1950, and a large part of the land farmed today is used for pasture. Farming productivity, between 1900 and 1950, showed nonetheless a slight improvement.

Study of the data relating to Belgium (3) provides no substantially new information concerning the causes of this movement, but does provide indications concerning its mechanism: those leaving the land concentrate principally in the smaller centres - from 5,000 to 25,000 inhabitants - towns of more than 50,000 inhabitants receiving a smaller quota. Naturally, the majority of emigrants have gravitated towards the communes situated on the fringe of large industrial centres: there is thus a preference for the "belt" rather than the industrial centre itself, the housing situation being evidently easier, and living cheaper, in the periphery, the desired contact with city life being substantially the same.

Switzerland is an example of a country in which geographic conditions can determine decisions to emigrate: the poverty of the soil and the unfavourable climate will not permit a sufficient increase of agricultural output, and therefore accentuate the imbalance between agricultural and industrial income. This encourages (in particular) the younger people of the mountain farming areas and "Mittelland" to emigrate. Working conditions in mountain farming, moreover, are much harder than in the valleys and plains. Further, transport facilities are seldom adequate, and the distances involved can, for example, prevent children from attending secondary school. In the mountains, finally, the farmers feel that they have been left behind by the economic boom, and cannot accept to live in conditions that prevent their children from becoming adequately prepared for entry into the modern process of production. (4)

In Italy, the most outstanding aspect of the migratory movement is the flow of farm labour (peasants) from the South towards the industrial areas of the North, although movement from other northern but non-industrial areas - the province of Venice in particular - is also quite substantial, and there is also regional movement in certain central areas.

The preponderant movement of manpower from the South to the North may be considered, in synthesis as the result of a series of factors, amongst which the following are certainly of greatest significance:

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(1) See I.L.O. op. cit., p. 102.
(2) See I.L.O. op. cit., p. 54.
(3) See G. Beijer, op. cit., p. 155-163.
(4) See G. Beijer, op. cit., p. 68-69.

(a) The initial investment of foreign capital in the North of Italy;

(b) The steady increase in the rate of local capital accumulation, which attracts capital from elsewhere in Italy and from abroad;

(c) The existence of opposite conditions in the South;

(d) The birthrate in these regions, always too high, particularly in relation to the availability of employment.

In view of the above, unemployment and under-employment have developed in the South, a situation which is the most obvious reason for the movement of manpower from agriculture towards other sectors.

In the United States, as in Europe, the movement away from the land is seen to be the greatest where agricultural income is the lowest: between 1940 and 1950, the overall agricultural population in the United States decreased by 30.9 per cent. The following are the specific percentages:

- Normal or high income areas	28%
- Low income areas	33.8%
- Very low income areas	36.9% (1)

Turkey differs substantially from the other cases examined (2) : the figures for Turkey are eloquent: in 1950, 83.7 per cent of the active population was employed in agriculture. In 1955, the percentage was 81, industry and services accounting for 9.5 per cent each. In 1957, the percentage employed in farming was 77 per cent.

What happens in Turkey is the direct opposite of the situation in developing countries with mixed economies, where workers in industry are subsidiarily active in agriculture: in Turkey, after the harvest, the peasants invade industry with the offer of cheap, unskilled labour. This means that the migration of manpower towards industry is generally temporary. Evidently, such a situation can last while industry is still developing. Once it has developed, it will no longer be possible to use unskilled labour so indiscriminately, owing to the effects of such practice on output levels and quality standards.

We may, however, conclude with the general statement that internal migration in Western Europe is substantially determined by very similar causes, and that a major attraction for agricultural labour is the demand for labour in other sectors.

The relatively low level of agricultural income, although no doubt an important factor, is by no means the only cause determining the abandonment of the land. Further, those leaving the land are mainly wage-earners, manual labourers, and smallholders. It has also been observed that in Denmark and the United States (to take two examples) the shift of manpower from farming into other sectors takes place at the same rate, despite the fact that the farming wages in the United States are kept high through special farming subsidies.

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(1) See I.L.O. op. cit., p. 26.
(2) See I.L.O. op. cit., p. 170-176.

The fact that economic reasons are not the only reasons involved in determining the decision to emigrate is also shown by the results of a survey conducted in Greece on attitudes towards emigration. (1) The author asks himself the question: "Assuming satisfactory economic conditions, would the inhabitant of the Greek villages surveyed cease to emigrate?"

From the data obtained, it cannot be stated with certainty whether economic improvement would remove or - on the contrary - increase the desire to emigrate: in fact, the tendency to emigrate seems to be dictated by two quite different desires: the poor seek work and better conditions, the well-to-do seek a different system of living and higher standards.

2.1.2 Psycho-sociological factors

The results of many studies and surveys conducted in this field lead to the conclusion that the decision to emigrate is thus determined also by a series of extra-economic considerations, which, for convenience, may be classified as :

- objective: namely living conditions and the kind of life in the towns as opposed to the country; type of work in industry, as compared with agriculture;
- subjective: that is to say, the emigrant's own aspirations and expectations in emigrating, the social and economic condition of the subject in the home community, the part played by the subject's family, and his own personality.

2.1.2.1 Objective considerations

The emigrant's mental image of the town or city is, if somewhat vague, mainly made up of the more positive aspects of the "possibilities of every kind" that it offers. What is lacking, generally, is a clear perception of what a city is, as an extremely complex social organisation, in which the individual can find a place - but only if he is capable of using its structures, and is not overcome by them.

The countryman has an idea of industrial organisation derived from what he has been told by other countrymen, or from the cinema, radio, etc. When leaving the land, he does not always have a clear concept of what this signifies: first and foremost, a step forward in time, from a type of life that has remained static, to another that is not only more advanced, but undergoing continuous change. Many problems of inadaptation as we shall see further on, arise out of this contrast between what the immigrant expected and what the city is.

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(1) See K. Moustaka: "Attitudes Towards Migration", roneoed document in English, Athens, July 1963.

In considering work in industry, as compared with that in farming, again only the more advantageous aspects are in the foreground. The immigrant subsequently encounters - in day-to-day life - other aspects of work in industry for which he is unprepared, and which demand a considerable effort of adaptation.

In brief, work in industry is considered desirable because:

- It is physically less tiring;
- Its working hours are more regular, and leisure is regular and guaranteed;
- It carries the advantage of paid holidays and social benefits;
- It carries a sense of greater security.

To the above, we may add a dislike for labour in the fields, frequently mingled with a dislike for the type of life the subject is obliged to live in the country.

A further important factor is also the fact that emigrants frequently know where and how they will be working in industry, before leaving the home community. This evidently gives greater security, and suggests the existence of an informal communication system between immigrants and those who have remained at home, pending later departure. (1)

2.1.2.2 Subjective considerations

Conditions affecting the individual as a member of the society in which he lives are also important in determining the decision to emigrate. In this respect, family and status in the community are of major interest.

Quite apart from the assistance - temporary or more than temporary accommodation - that members of the family already established in towns can offer to new arrivals, the family affects decisions at at least three levels: firstly, the individual builds a picture of city life, and concentrates his desire upon it, on the basis of related experience by relatives who have emigrated before him. (2) Secondly, the family frequently provides financial assistance and moral support (3), and finally, the example may be given by the family, if relatives have already emigrated, which may influence the choice of destination and work once the decision to emigrate has been taken. (4)

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(1) This is also confirmed by the results of a survey conducted at Turin by the Social and Industrial Research Centre on immigrants from the South of Italy, and those of a survey in Greece by the National Statistical Office: "Report on the exploratory survey into motivations and circumstances of rural migration", English version, Athens 1962.

(2) See Johan Galtung, "Componenti psico-sociali nella decisione di emigrare", "Immigrazione e Industria", p.429-433, Communita, Milan 1952.

(3) See National Statistical Institute, Greece, op. cit.

(4) See Henry Krier, "Enquête sur l'adaptation au travail industriel de la main-d'oeuvre d'origine rurale", typed copy of survey results, Rennes, France.

Regarding status, a survey in Sicily shows that the desire to emigrate is strong in those who have a relatively high social position but a relatively low standard of living, but not at all developed amongst those who are socially at a lower level, but economically quite comfortable. Finally, the survey showed that the relatively poor and uneducated, on the lowest rung of the social ladder, are those who have a general desire to go, without knowing exactly where, how, and when. (1)

It is commonly observed that manual farm labour and the owners of very small holdings tend to emigrate, though in France, it has been observed that farm owners are frequently held back not only by the fact of owning property where they live, but also of being "their own master". This would appear to indicate a dislike of the notion of working under a boss. Such emigrants, once they have decided to leave the country, show a preference for a small trade rather than industry, namely for an independent occupation "in their own shop". (2)

The psychological point made is certainly valid, but we must not underestimate tha fact that these emigrants have enough money for a free choice, a privilege others do not always enjoy.

Amongst emigrants in all countries, one of the most frequently encountered motivations for emigration is social improvement, if not for themselves, at least for their children.

In the Sicilian survey already mentioned, it was noted that the first step up the social ladder is taken in the place of origin, the second step being preferably taken elsewhere: the socially advanced sons of humble parents showed a desire to emigrate. (3) In other words, those belonging to a low social order feel they have something to gain in staying at home: their prospects of improvement extend as far as the higher levels of the local social system, but those already at the top of this system have evidently nothing further to gain, in prestige or other advantages, through staying where they are.

Experts in all countries attribute a very important part in motivation to the level of education, the intelligence, and the "openness" of potential emigrants: in Great Britain, for example, the tendency to emigrate is stronger in the young and more energetic workers: the best leave the land. (4)

From surveys conducted in the Netherlands and the United States, it may be seen that the better educated leave the land; they are evidently the best prepared for a change of occupation: primary education - and formal education in general - facilitates entry into other occupations. It is in fact suggested (Holland) that countries expecting future manpower shifts from farming to other sectors should ensure that rural areas are capable of providing an adequate degree of preparatory education.(1)

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(1) See Johan Galtung, op. cit. In his study of the relation of migration to social status, Arnold Rose has attempted to establish a relation between the geographical distance of migration and the social status of the migrants. According to Rose, the person with a higher status is prepared to move a much greater distance to achieve his ambitions. See Arnold M. Rose: "Distance of Migration and Socio-Economic Status of Migrants", in "American Sociological Review", Vol. 23, No. 4, August 1958, pp. 420-423.

(2) See I.L.O.. op. cit. p. 54-55.

(3) See Johan Galtung, op. cit.

(4) See I.L.O., op. cit. p. 103.

A special survey conducted in one village over the space of 40 years shows that 85 per cent of those who completed primary education with "excellent" results, and about 58 per cent of those with "good" results emigrated. (2)

In Sweden, the movement from rural areas towards the cities has been found selective from the intelligence standpoint (amongst others). Education being equal, those who leave are more intelligent that those who stay in the country, but less intelligent than those living in cities for some time already. (3)

This selectivity, if to the advantage of the community receiving the emigrants, is evidently of ultimate damage to the community of departure. In Greece, surveys have shown a stronger tendency to emigrate amongst the more highly educated and the young; the villages thus lose their best potential. (4)

In Sicily also, the man who wishes to leave his little village in the country is the one with the clearest - if mistaken - ideas concerning the political, social and economic causes of its poverty. Those who become "mobile" are the most inventive, those who seek radical solutions to their problems, and those who would thus evidently be the most valuable in promoting local social change. Further, the mentally "mobile" have already gone, even if they have not emigrated: they are the prisoners of their society; they cease to participate in the life of their society; they become bitter in thought and word. Psychologically speaking, although still in their native villages, they are absent. (5)

2.2 Rural and urban culture

2.2.1 The two societies (6)

Rural society is static, its structure and cultural system are permanent in time. A society of this type has fixed points of reference based on tradition and not subject to change. It is thus a repetitive rather than a creative society. Those who accept it and live within it are frequently passive in their attitude, lack personal initiative, and tend to wait fatalistically for external influences to solve their problems.

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(1) See I.L.O., op. cit. p. 218.

(2) See G. Beijer, op. cit. p. 32.

(3) See E. Neymark: "Selektiv Rölighet", English roneoed version, Stockholm 1961.

(4) See Istituto Nazionale di Statistica Greco, op. cit.

(5) See Johan Galtung, op. cit.

(6) Among the various studies on the subject, see : J. Zubrzyeki: "Patterns of Peasant Migration with special reference to Eastern Europe" REMP Bulletin, Vol. 4, No. 4, Oct-Dec. 1956, pp. 73-86; Angelo Pagani: "Società urbana, Società rurale e società contadina", Rivista di politica agraria No. 6, 1955. For a study of the process of urbanisation in a developing economy, see Alessandro Pizzorno: "Sviluppo economico e urbanizzazione", in "Quaderni di Sociologia", No. 1, 1962, pp. 23-51.

Urban society, on the contrary, is a society with a continuously changing structure and cultural system. It is creative, in that its organisation demands the continuous elaboration of instruments capable of operating the complex institutions with which it has equipped itself. A distinctive feature of this society is "productive thought". Constant "productive thinking" is the consequence of change, which continuously presents man with new problems for which no traditional solutions exist; it is also a prerequisite for change, for it is productive thinking that renders every situation problematic. (1)

The cultural and structural differences between the society he has left and the one which he enters makes substantial demands on the powers of comprehension of the immigrant, demands for which he is frequently unprepared, either because he has not been sufficiently educated, or because he has always lived in surroundings where no such demands have ever been made on his mental powers, or again because he is deeply involved in urgent problems of survival involving not only himself but possibly also his family. (2)

The countryman has a mentality which is characteristic of stationary rural society, where the unchanging stability of customs, habits, and values is a predominant feature. Relationships with others are informal, and social censorship of individual conduct is considered normal. The immigrant countryman encounters the town dweller, with his tendency to formal relationships, his mobility, his tolerance - the counterpart of his jealously defended personal liberty and his refusal of outside judgements or interference - and finds him "superficial, voluble, and capricious".(3)

The anonymity of the individual and the reduced influence of society on personal conduct may affect those from stationary societies in various ways: those who desire greater freedom of behaviour are satisfied, but those who are worried about the "dangerous" consequences of the absence of social control will find experience of such societies frustrating, and tend by reaction to a severer degree of conformism. (4)

In other words, the immigrant is "modern" in that he has of his own volition abandoned his cultural tradition, but in the industrial city where he now finds himself, he will be considered old-fashioned, a traditionalist, excessively attached to his family, and full of prejudice. At the same time, he will be "rejected" by his original setting, as an individual for whom society has no use. Unfortunately, both opinions concerning the immigrant are true: he is not a "towny", and neither was he suitable any longer, in the country, for any activity involving acceptance of the archaic mentality and social system which he has refused. (1)

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(1) See F. Alberoni: "Contributo allo studio dell'integrazione sociale dell'immigrato", "Vita e Pensiero", Milan 1960, p. 22.

(2) See "Le migrazioni interne e internazionali nel mondo contemporaneo", p. 190-191, Rome 1961, "Le settimane sociali".

(3) See G. Beijer, op. cit. p. 6.

(4) See F. Alberoni, op. cit. p. 114-115.

2.2.2 Integration and assimilation

It may therefore be assumed - as some experts have done - the greater the difference between the societies of departure and arrival, the greater the difficulties in integration. Thus, the problems raised by international emigration must evidently be more serious than those encountered in internal migration. By the same token, movement from societies that have been stationary for centuries to modern town societies - as in the case of the migration of manpower from the South to the North of Italy - must encounter problems of greater gravity than those faced by immigrants from partially industrialised and urbanised societies in more highly industrialised areas. This is true at least in as far as the assimilation of urban culture is concerned.

On the other hand, it is argued that those immigrating from very distant countries, however retarded, become more rapidly adapted to the new society. In such cases, in fact, the decision to emigrate is a very serious matter, and those taking the decision are motivated by very powerful considerations. This evidently facilitates adaptation.

It seems evident that the passage from a given situation to another is the less traumatic and difficult, the less significant the changes in the daily life of the individual. Internal migration in Austria and Switzerland supports this statement.

The country in Austria is no longer isolated from the towns, thanks to modern means of transport and communications. The social structure and mentality of rural populations in Austria are changing, and this change encourages migration towards the industrial areas. Thus, the ideas and values of urban societies are spreading to the country without the assistance of migration, so that gravitation from the country to the towns becomes the result of a change in mentality, and is no longer a prerequisite for such change. (2)

Something similar is happening in Switzerland, and in Belgium, where migration converges on small industrial centres, rather than on the large cities. These small centres are sometimes "half-way houses" for the immigrant, where the process of cultural change commences, and where he is prepared for entry into the large industrial city.

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(1) See Johan Galtung, op. cit. See also: "Adjustment and Assimilation: the displaced person", in "The Sociological Review" Vol. 5 N. 2, December 1957, p. 242.

(2) See G. Beijer, op. cit., p. 55.

We have discussed the various attitudes of the immigrant and the situation he faces on leaving the country. What now is the attitude of the receiving community towards the immigrant?

The immigrant's community by adoption although not rejecting him, does nothing to facilitate his integration. It may sometimes set severe standards of acceptance. It sometimes tolerates but will not accept "foreign" behaviour, and this refusal, quite incomprehensible for the immigrant - who is behaving "normally" by his own lights - is frequently taken as a declaration of war. The immigrant may therefore become even more closely attached to his own set of values, which after all were quite good enough for a large part of his life. This in turn increases the gulf between the two groups, and triggers off defence mechanisms in both.

In this connection, the "pluralistic" type of culture - such as that of the United States - is considered favourable from the integrational standpoint. This culture results from the cohabitation of several racial groups, and greatly facilitates the cohabitation of culturally different and imperfectly merged units: the descendants of those born abroad participate increasingly in the cultural life of the adopted community, but are able to preserve the cultural characteristics of their group of origin. (1)

In such cases, the process occurring is integrative, and not assimilative. The latter process would in fact imply a one-way relationship: it suggests that the new arrival must completely jettison his former culture and adapt himself to new patterns. This would prevent the entry of his ideas into the community receiving him. The concept of integration, on the contrary, accepts cultural differentiation within social unity. It recognises the individual's and the group's right to be different, in as far as the difference does not lead to disintegration of the society. (2)

Hence, integration is a concept combining unity and diversity. Unity is based on common politico-philosophical principles and possession of the same citizenship, whereas diversity is maintained through reciprocal appreciation of the various cultural contributions to the society.

What should the choice be, in the European countries experiencing strong migratory flows? Should the values that the immigrants themselves have tacitly refused through leaving the land be fostered in them, or should they be culturally adapted to suit the industrial society of their adoption?

Every society accumulates its own cultural patrimony, establishes the standards translating this patrimony into rules of behaviour, and creates the institutions it needs to function, in other words to meet its own ends.

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(1) See B. Thomas, op. cit. p. 53-54.
(2) See B. Thomas, op. cit. p. 52-53.

Industrial society is such, in that it has worked out and continues to work out certain norms based on determined values and aims. To be in an industrial society - or any other - implies acceptance of its patterns, subject to the penalty of exclusion. This applies to immigrants and natives alike.

There is no doubt as to the contribution of immigration in human capital, availability of talent, and vital potential. However, the cultural concepts that the immigrant from the country can bring to industrial society are the product of a type of culture which industrial society has left behind. It is in this step forward that the essence of passing from old-fashioned or rural culture to modern or urban culture is contained.

2.3 Lack of adaptation: where it is felt

What we have said concerning the two types of culture results, in practice, in a series of demands on the adaptibility of the immigrant. The problem of adaptation is however larger than the individual, and involves the community, that is to say, not only the community directly concerned, but in general the whole of every country experiencing migratory movement, to varying degrees. There are three fields in which the immigrant's lack of adaptation is most obvious.

2.3.1 Living accommodation

Study of data of this problem brings two facts clearly to the forefront: (a) firstly, experts are unanimous in asserting that living accommodation is inadequate, that is to say, too scanty and too different from the type of home to which the immigrant is accustomed, and that this can be a cause of insufficient adaptation or even complete failure of the process; (b) secondly, the problem of finding a place to live - at least in most of Europe, with the possible exception of the Scandinavian countries - is much more serious for the immigrant, than the problem of finding a job.

It is in fact in an attempt to assist adaptation that certain Northern countries have built housing similar to that in the immigrant's own country and that special social services have been set up in quarters partly inhabited by immigrants. These attempts are not always a success: in Southern Italy, examples of new housing projects entirely deserted by rural immigrants are by no means lacking.

It must be remembered that in many cases adaptation is not solely dependent on the suitability of housing, but on the type of social relationship that is created in the residential unit. Evidently, relationships with the neighbourhood in a city carry the stamp of anonymity characteristic of urban societies, and are consequently very dissimilar to those in small village communities.

Little need be said concerning the difficulty of finding living accommodation. We all know what slums are, and are thus familiar with the problem. It may however be of interest to pick out a few examples with the Italian situation, which in this respect is quite typical: in Turin, "accommodation" exists which may be briefly specified as follows: two rooms, one bed; a household of eleven. Or: one room, two beds; two families = ten persons.

In 1961, still taking the example of Turin, one quarter of the immigrant population was accommodated on a density basis of more than four persons per room. During the same time, the density per room of the local population was 1.10. For about half the immigrant population, the average home consisted of two rooms occupied by a family of four (average), and in 70 per cent of cases, as many as five. The situation today has certainly not improved. (1)

In Italy, the situation is no better in the so-called "working-class suburbs" at considerable distances from town centres. These suburbs are frequently not even served by transport or communication facilities, and the housing is designed for average families somewhat smaller than those living there, who frequently come from emergency camps and shanty towns, with an average educational level at best equivalent to primary.

Accommodation of this type raises problems not only of integration with town populations, in as far as rural immigrants are concerned, but also of cohabitation with the neighbourhood.

2.3.2 Family

The "rhythm" of family life is changed through immigration. In the city, working hours determine quite another "rhythm", the "husband-wife" relationships being further also modified by separate employment.

Moreover, family economy, based on the pay-packet, is otherwise planned than in the country. At the same time, shopping takes a different form, and the method of acquiring the necessities of life in general undergoes a change.

Finally, shopping tendencies in towns and initially inaccurate financial estimates may lead to purchasing non-necessities, beyond the capacity of the household budget, in preference to necessities.

For the man who has emigrated alone, several of the above problems are aggravated by loneliness and the breaking-up of the family, and probably an even more precarious or rough and ready accommodation situation.

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(1) Survey conducted at Turin by the Industrial and Social Research Centre. Published in "Immigrazione e Industria", op. cit. p. 216. For the study of the housing problem in a very big Italian city, Milan, see Laura Balbo: "Un aspetto dell'integrazione sociale degli immigrati in una grande città", in "Quaderni di Sociologia", Vol. XI, July-September 1962, pp. 298-319.

2.3.3 Work

Work, and in the wider sense the fact of belonging to the productive organisation of the community, has a dual and in a certain sense a contradictory effect on the process of adaptation: on the one hand, it introduces the immigrant directly into the fundamental structure of city organisation, thus favouring integration. On the other, it sets tasks and standards of acceptance which make substantial demands on the adaptability of the ex-farmer.

A job in industry represents the first step in the social scale, and the expectation of further progress. Secondly, "working together" and the feeling of belonging to the same class helps the subject over the impact of different mentalities. Thirdly, the worker from the country enters the same social-economic context as the town worker, and in this context he also encounters such organisations as the unions, in which he is absolutely on a par with the native-born worker.

Status as a member of the working class thus promotes adaptation. But the same cannot be said of the fact of being a worker, that is to say, of the set of tasks the ex-rural worker is expected to face as a hand in the factory.

Literature concerning the lack of adaptation of the ex-rural worker in the factory is plentiful. The following is a summary of some of the more outstanding aspects of the problem.

2.3.3.1 Working rate

Industrial production requirements set a "working rate" which is more regular and more intense than in farming. The term signifies the succession of operations involved in a job, and has evidently nothing to do with the physical fatigue involved, which is certainly no whit less in farming. As against a working rate dictated by hours of light and darkness, months, seasons, and the individual himself, the rate in industry is impersonal, dictated by the time-setter's chronometer or the operating cycle of a machine.

2.3.3.2 Incompatibility with system

This concerns the organisation of industrial production in general, such as work at the assembly-line, or as a member of a team. It also concerns social organisation in towns: relations with superiors in general are more frustrating for the ex-farm worker than for town-born workers.

2.3.3.3 Training and career openings

The ex-farm worker is under-skilled, and has thus a minimum likelihood of advancement. After being rapidly taken on, he finds promotion slow, if promoted at all. Frequently, moreover, the new hand is summarily trained, or simply told what he has to do and teamed with another worker. It is only seldom that any real training is given. In addition to his technical inferiority to a town-bred worker, the ex-farm worker has greater difficulty in understanding the factory as a whole, and the inter-dependent operation of the various work-shops, departments, etc. This makes it all the more difficult for him to understand the significance of the operations he himself carries out.

2.3.3.4 Commuting

This is a more serious problem for immigrant workers than for natives, firstly because the immigrants frequently live in quite other localities than their place of work, or if in the same town, then in distant quarters badly served by public transport facilities. It is true that the factories themselves often provide transport, but the fact remains that those using it still have longer total working hours (including travel time) and are thus subject to greater fatigue. They are consequently at a disadvantage in as far as the quantity and quality of effective work capacity are concerned, as compared with someone living closer to the place of work.

Many businesses using immigrant labour frequently complain of its occupational mobility. It is probable that changing from job to job is a consequence of inadaptation: the individual chases the hope of finding a better situation in the next, and the next, and the next job.

There are finally examples of complete and total inadaptability to industrial work, when the transfer from agriculture to industry has been too abrupt. For example, in a forest region in northern Sweden, some of the forestry workers of a community took jobs in industry, without however leaving the home community. Of these, 15 per cent returned to forestry, essentially because of the difficulty they experienced in adapting themselves to the industrial system. In a further group of forestry workers which had taken jobs in factories for economic reasons, 16 per cent claimed that they would go back to their old jobs if economically possible. (1)

Yet the ex-farm labourer's psychology can promote his adaptation to work in industry: the farm-worker is used to a job that is complete in itself, that is to say, not part of an overall function, such as a job in a factory. But through having belonged to a static society, he is accustomed to repetitive and not creative work. His job in a factory gives him a "partial" task, which is however repetitive. This relieves him of any creative effort in his work, any solution of problems. This, in a sense, is a good thing, in that the immigrant already spends a lot of his energy in solving all sorts of problems encountered in the process of adaptation; thus, and paradoxically, it is his lack of available energy that helps him to adapt to modern division of labour. (2)

It is not known to what extent the above observation is true in practice. It may in fact be claimed that the power of motivation behind the immigrant's decision to migrate can stimulate his capacity for learning and his generation of energy to the point of compensating his lack of skill, and thus of promoting his adaptation to the new circumstances in his work.

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(1) See J. Wallander: "Flykten frän Skogsbygden", English version, Stockholm 1948.
(2) See Alberoni, op. cit. p. 32.

2.3.4 Vocational training and basic education

In addition to his generally inadequate occupational training, stressed by many experts as one of the main factors of failure to adapt, evidence is offered from all quarters of the immigrant's inadequate basic education. Farm-workers are in fact "under-qualified" from both the strictly occupational and the general educational standpoints. The inadequacy of his basic education affects his technical training and adaptation in various ways: it is in fact the difference in level of general knowledge, rather than any question of origin, which explains the difference in capacity between the ex-rural and town-born worker, who are equally successful in occupational training centres, if in possession of an equivalent education.

More extensive education in specific subjects would promote a more "technical" mentality in young countrymen, and contribute to the development of their capacity. (1)

2.3.5 Social life

As we have seen, adaptation to the new environment implies a series of changes in the habits, attitudes, and customs of the immigrant. Changes must therefore take place on a number of planes, particularly that of human relationships.

A change in social relations, the disappearance of the village as a community, the feeling of anonymity, and the individualism of the town-born, are all obstacles to adaptation. The process is further retarded by the difficulty many immigrants experience in establishing other than purely casual social contacts with the natives.

In many cases, the hostility or the indifference with which the natives regard immigrants are the result of prejudice. In other cases, they result from objective causes, quite beyond the control of the one or the other camp. In this respect, it was noted in Turin, for example, that social contact between natives and immigrants, in general rare, is however more intense in parts of the town where the educational and social-economic levels of the immigrants are closer to those of the native population. (2)

It has also been observed in many European countries that integration is more difficult for women and old people, who come into contact less frequently with the new community than the men at work and youngsters and thus tend to preserve the customs and habits of their origins.

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(1) See H. Krier: "Main-d'oeuvre rurale et développement industriel", Paris 1961, p. 40-41. See also Alain Touraine: "Les ouvriers d'origine agricole", in "Sociologie du Travail" No. 3, July-September 1960, p. 230-245.

(2) Survey conducted at Turin by the Industrial and Social Research Centre. Published in "Immigrazione e Industria", op. cit., p.217.

Integration can be prevented by living environment: rejected by the natives and concentrated in the same areas, immigrants tend to form closed groups on the basis of the cultural similarity of their regions of origin. Thus placed in a position of inferiority and diffidence, it is difficult for the immigrant to realise that presumed hostile attitudes on the part of the local population are frequently no more than the projection of his own sentiment of hostility.

The process of integration requires the participation of both camps. Both are therefore responsible for the inadaptation of the immigrant; the subjective difficulties of the immigrant are matched by equally subjective difficulties of the local population, the two sets of difficulties taken together sometimes finally forming a hostile and repellent objective environment for the immigrant. (1)

3. EXAMPLES OF ACTION IN CERTAIN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

3.1 Austria(2)

Migration from agriculture to industry is not expressly encouraged in Austria. There is however an office, the "Bundesausgleichsstelle", which keeps a check on the vacancies that can be filled by workers from other states (Austria is a Federation) and conversely of persons prepared to move from where they are living to other regions in the Federation.

At the moment, however, there are no special training institutions assisting the transfer of manpower from agriculture to industry, nor is there any state-organised body concerned with vocational training or education, although policies in this respect are being discussed. There are however various types of organisations capable of being used for the occupational qualification of ex-rural manpower. These are, for example:

(a) Two occupational training centres at Vienna, financed by industry and by the unions respectively. Branches of these two centres have been opened throughout the country, and particularly in the larger communities.

(b) Re-training facilities opened (though not systematically) at new factories built in rural development areas. These are financed by the business itself, the employment offices, and the centres mentioned in (a) above.

(c) Special courses financed by the state and local authorities for young people wishing to prepare for careers in the hotel and catering business. These courses are also attended by workers of rural origin. A similar activity is developed in certain cases by employment offices (British: labour exchanges), particularly for women from the country, although in this case participation is limited to the holders of a particular form of insurance.

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(1) See G. Beijer, op. cit. p. 21.
(2) Data obtained from the Ministry for Social Affairs.

3.2 Denmark (1)

There are no problems here in as far as the adaptation of rural immigrants is concerned. The organisation and the general standard of living in Denmark are such that rural populations do not seem to require any particular assistance in overcoming the effects of migration to the towns. There do not appear, in fact, to be any substantial differences in educational or occupational proficiency levels between rural and town populations. Moreover, small centres function as transit centres in the process.

3.3 Federal Republic of Germany(2)

Government policy: Government authorities are active in rationalising the employment of ex-rural manpower and in providing rural populations with new cultural instruments: under government initiative, courses for the qualification of rural workers are held, and industrial concerns are encouraged to erect plant in the poor regions, so as to improve the income there and to create a technical, industrial, and commercial habit of mind amongst the rural population.

According to the Unions' Economic Science Institute,(3) however, the attitude of the State towards migration of manpower from agriculture is twofold: on the one hand, the erection of industrial plant in essentially agricultural areas, such as along the frontier with the East-German Republic, is encouraged by government loans, but on the other hand, the market is manipulated and agricultural produce subsidised to keep its prices high, and thus to stem the flow of labour away from the land.

Union policy: The problem of training adult rural immigrants for jobs in industry lost its importance when Western Germany attained full employment about five years ago. The unions regard as urgent the problem of training young people who intend to leave agriculture: these youngsters face difficulties caused on the one hand by their inadequate education, and on the other by current recruitment methods in industry. In rural areas, schools generally comprise one or two classes, in which children of various ages are taught simultaneously ("Volksschule"). The educational level upon leaving these schools is thus not satisfactory. Regarding recruitment, particularly by the smaller concerns, the tendency is to employ young people as apprentices - and thus more cheaply than adults - and in numbers greater than the number of adults it would be possible to employ. As a consequence, successive surplusses in specific trades are created on the market, in the younger age-groups. The demands of the unions for assistance in the transfer of young rural workers to industry may be summarised as follows:

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(1) See G. Beijer, op. cit. p. 98.

(2) Data concerning government policy are obtained from the I.L.O. op. cit. p. 66-67. "Why the agricultural workers leave the land". Data concerning the attitude of state authorities and others were directly supplied by the "Wirtschaftswissenschaftliches Institut der Gewerkschaften G.m.b.H.", Cologne, (Union Economic Institute). Indications concerning the activity of the "Bundesanstalt für Arbeitsvermittlung und Arbeitslosenversicherung", Nürnberg, (Nürnberg Employment Service and Unemployment Insurance Office) were supplied directly by this office.

(3) Wirtschaftswissenschaftliches Institut der Gewerkschaften.

(a) The creation of secondary schools of several classes capable of supplying the educational requirements of several villages.

(b) Extension of the compulsory school attendance period from 8 to 10 years.

(c) The creation of apprentice hostels in cities possessing good industrial training institutes.

(d) Detailed information for rural populations concerning careers in various trades. Experience has in fact shown that country people are not aware of the possibilities in specific industrial sectors, which therefore remain unused.

(e) Reduction of the difference in industrial wage-levels between rural and urban factory locations, through the re-adjustment of higher and lower wage-level area limits.

(f) Shortening of the working week.

Although not directly connected with the problem of manpower transfer from farming to industry, the work of the Western German Employment Service and Unemployment Insurance Office deserves mention. This is a Federal Government service and its main function is the forecasting of vacancies in the immediate future. In this work, the service uses market analysis, and maintains contact with industry and public services concerned with economics. On the basis of the data received, the service directs the young workers who have applied to it for guidance towards the type of training or preparation considered most suitable. It then introduces them to potential employers.

The service also examines aptitutes, but does not directly organise preparatory courses. It does however subsidise such courses, and assists trainees financially. Finally, the office also maintains frequent contact with general and special schools, the teaching body, parents, and pupils or trainees.

3.4 Italy (1)

State action: As a general rule, state action may be considered as limited to the field of occupational training and preparatory education. It should be remembered that a substantial part of the state's work in this field comes under the heading of normal teaching, that is to say, that it is not particularly concerned with the adaptation of rural labour for jobs in industry. Evidently, large numbers of ex-rural workers attend occupational training courses both in the North and in the South of the country, in regions being industrially developed.

In addition to the work done by the state, there is the work done by the "Cassa per il Mezzogiorno" (2): on 30th June 1962, an allocation of 2,100 million Lira was approved for the purchase of facilities and equipment for the institution and/or re-equipment of industrial training departments in 230 centres distributed throughout the South of Italy.

The "Cassa per il Mezzogiorno" has moreover also promoted the creation of joint training centres ("centri interaziendali de addestramento professionale"). Eight projects for the construction of highly modern centres of this type and for a total investment value of 4,000 million Lira, were approved also on 30th June 1962.

Associations formed by the Ministry of Labour, the "Cassa" itself, local authorities, and private enterprise (the factories participating) are formed to manage the centres and to contribute the complementary finance required over and above the sums provided by the Ministry of Labour.

The "Confederazione generale dell'Industria Italiana" (Italian Industrial Federation) has signed a convention with the "Cassa per il Mezzogiorno" guaranteeing the payment of the quotas that individual concerns have undertaken to contribute.

One of these centres has already begun to operate at Turin, which in the industrial North is perhaps the city that has received the largest number of southern immigrants.

Applicants must be either immigrants, or closely related to immigrants: this initiative is thus evidently directed exclusively towards the qualification of rural manpower from the South.

There are in addition two further joint training centres for whose creation the "Cassa per il Mezzogiorno" and the I.R.I. (Industrial Reconstruction Institute) took the initiative: one is situated at Naples and already operative; the other, at Taranto, is being completed.

Despite this work, the problem of occupational training in Italy is still unsolved. It is regarded as a problem involving the"re-dimensioning" of the entire sector. In as far as the particular aspect of retraining rural manpower is concerned, the entire nation is involved: in the North, with the immigrant problem in the South, that is to say in the southern development areas, with the problem of the trained labour supply (which is manifestly inadequate).

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(1) Data obtained directly by interview or from cited sources.

(2) See report on Co-ordination, Vol. 2, Committee of Ministers for the South, Rome, 1963.

In the South, newly installed concerns provide training courses for locally recruited labour, to complete any pre-entry training they may have received. The general opinion is that the only courses producing useful results are those organised by each concern for its own purposes. During a meeting at which the directors of the main companies that have installed plant in the South were present, such an extreme was recorded as the motion for the abolition of all occupational training schools and the creation of new schools teaching according to criteria directed essentially towards the training of new workers from a standpoint of "factory pedagogics". (1)

Regarding accommodation, despite everything that has been done, this remains one of the most acute national problems, particularly in the "industrial triangle" in the North.

To date, nothing seems to have been done at the national level to promote the social adjustment of immigrants.

Action at community levels. No Italian community is known, so far, to have planned any action in this particular field. Whereas occupational training and the reconversion of manpower involves the entire nation, the communities most affected by the population changes due to immigration are the large industrial cities of the North, where the numbers of inhabitants have increased enormously. It is, however, certain that with the progress of industrialisation in the South, problems of urbanisation and cultural change will also arise here.

Returning to the cities of the North, it would appear that the migratory movement has taken responsible authorities completely by surprise, and that "communal" (municipal) administrations are faced with substantially increased expenditure caused by a large new population that is evidently quite incapable of contributing financially to local up-keep.

An immediate consequence has been a large increase of the expenditure on assistance. It can be said that all the assistance organisations and offices are now almost exclusively concerned with the immigrant population, but no new offices - actually in operation - have been created to assist in handling the immigrant problem.

The work done at the community level is in fact largely due to private religious or social initiative, and partially financed by public corporations or private concerns. Initiatives on this scale are evidently incapable of dealing with a problem of this type and size - yet the receiving communities are usually represented in the matter by nothing more than these sporadic manifestations of goodwill.

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(1) Study committee on enquiry No. 13 into Occupational Training; Final Report, February 1963; roneo paper I.A.S.M. ("Istituto Assistenza Sviluppo Mezzogiorno").

Action at the private enterprise level. A distinction must be made between Northern and Southern Italy, in discussing this subject. At the moment, private enterprise in the North does not appear to have adopted any particular techniques for the industrial training of ex-rural labour; every firm trains the labour it needs, with varying rapidity, and immigrant labour is initially employed at the lowest level, subsequent qualification being a slow process of on-the-job training, rather than proper programmed instruction.

There are, however, a few firms that have considered the non-technical aspects of training: some of these have organised educational classes for illiterates.

Like the Public Assistance Offices of the communes (municipalities), the Welfare Departments of large firms are mainly concerned with the assistance of immigrants, in that the latter have assistance problems to a greater extent than the locals.

But no special organisations appear to have been created, although - as already stated - the firms sometimes contribute to private philanthropic efforts in favour of immigrants: take for example the largest industry at Turin, which contributes to the upkeep of the only immigrants assistance centre in the city, created by a priest.

In the main industrial cities, there are also schools or courses organised and financed by local industrial employer associations, of which a substantial percentage of attendance is immigrant, but which were not specifically created for immigrant manpower.

The picture in the new southern development areas is quite different. Here, the problem of adapting rural immigrants to city conditions does not exist, but there is the problem of re-converting rural manpower to industry, and the adjustment of individuals to the industrial system of living.

In the South, some of the larger firms have not only organised courses for the training and/or retraining of locally recruited labour, but also educational courses for adults of the "orientational" type tending to form an "industrial mentality". They also provide a range of services - from housing through to schooling - scholastic facilities being frequently of the highest standard (based on most modern criteria).

Union action. Although the unions are evidently aware of the immigrant problem, no operative action seems to have been promoted. On the other hand, the opinion of certain unions - stated here without generalisation, and purely as an example - is that the qualification of manpower should not include specific action in favour of workers from rural areas, or rather, the action taken should not be specific only: in other words, the complete field of occupational training and preparatory education in Italy must be reviewed towards increasing and improving the quality of qualified manpower. This concerns manpower as a whole, and not only ex-rural workers. Within the ambit of an effort of this size, particular attention could be paid to the agricultural labour problem. Further, specific action in favour of any segment of manpower could ultimately become an obstacle to integration.

3.5 Norway (1)

Like Denmark, Norway does not appear to be facing a serious problem in the adjustment of rural immigrants to city or industrial life. Some suppose that this is due to the perpetuation in Norwegian urban society of typical rural society features.

In truth, the small Norwegian population, with its solid democratic traditions, generally high level of education, and absence of minorities, is capable of facing possible adaptability problems without serious risk. Norway also possesses a highly developed social security system, for the benefit of all citizens. This organisation also follows cases of maladjustment, among the youg people who constitute the bulk of the immigrant population.

3.6 Sweden

The measures taken in Sweden in the last ten years have been designed more to encourage mobility than to eliminate the difficulties of surplus manpower in contracting industries.

During 1950, Parliament and the Government decided on a number of steps towards facilitating manpower mobility in general:

- In 1957, allowances for travel, removal and the running of two households during the intermediary period were increased;
- In 1958, family allowances were also paid to the unemployed moving to other districts to find work, and not immediately finding accomodation for their families;
- In 1959, a special "departure" allowance was instituted, for those who accept work in other districts;
- In 1962, a special "re-establishment" allowance was paid to those leaving areas of unemployment.

The "Arbetsmarknadsstyrelsen" organises occupational training and vocational guidance courses for young and old. Those taking the courses obtain financial assistance. This organisation also provides temporary housing for workers not yet joined by their families in areas with a high demand for labour. In any event, 90 per cent of housing is subsidised in Sweden by the State. Moreover, special subsidies are paid on housing built in or around industrial areas. Finally, since January 1963, all municipalities of more than 10,000 inhabitants are obliged to establish detailed 5-year housing plans.

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(1) See Beijer, op. cit. p. 103-112.

3.7 Turkey (1)

At the moment, the Turkish Government in association with the Occupational Training Centre is launching measures for application during the next five years, and devised to meet the requirements of Turkish industry. The ministries concerned are Labour, Industry, and Education. In summary, the principal aims are:

(a) Co-ordination in the occupational training field.

(b) Participation of the Ministry of Education in the training programme through the training of instructors and seminars.

(c) The promotion of accelerated courses for unskilled labour.

(d) Legislation to improve the economic situation of workers in industry, and legislation of occupational training.

(e) The establishment of primary education as a stipulation for employment in industry, with the sole exception of manual, unskilled labour.

CONCLUSIONS

In the foregoing, analysis of the migratory movement has been made through:

1. Brief outline of demographic and economic aspects;
2. Wider study of social and cultural aspects;
3. Examples of planned or existing action in certain European countries.

Particular attention has been paid to the social-cultural aspects of the problem, for it is in this field that adaptation is a prime consideration, and that the process of adjustment takes place.

We have therefore shown the factors influencing the decision to emigrate, and how the ambitions determining the decision may be frustrated. Finally, the main fields in which adjustment is necessary have been dealt with: housing; family; work, as a system for acceptance and a task to be performed; basic education and occupational training; social life.

On the basis of indications derived from the above, we now pass on to a brief statement of a few principal requirements.

1. Work

This requires the formation of a suitable mentality and the knowledge of specific techniques. To meet these two requirements, education and instruction are required :

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(1) Data obtained from the "Report of the Executive Committee for the Training of Industrial Labour", English version, Ankara 1963.

(a) Basic education

According to all experts, this should start at the primary educational level, and should be developed in rural regions also, through the creation of schools with a technical-occupational tendency.

From the data examined, this requirement would appear to be particularly felt in Belgium, France, Italy and (partly) Germany.

(b) Occupational training

This should include the retraining of ex-rural labour and the qualification of this manpower. At present, this is left largely to the personal initiative of the individual, who must see to it by himself that he obtains the training necessary for promotion.

Further, occupational training must provide sound general basic training, so that the individual will be able to cope with new situations introduced by the development of new technologies.

Regarding the occupational training of adult labour, special centres such as those in France or Holland should be created for agricultural workers intending to enter industry. These centres appear to produce useful results. In particular, the success of the centres in France is to a large extent due to the contacts maintained by them with the labour market and industry for guidance as to requirements and the orientation of training programmes.

2. Housing

Those countries which have not already done so should formulate efficient housing policies designed to provide accommodation at reasonable prices for all.

The growth of quarters which, through deliberate decision or as a result of numerous factors, are ultimately inhabited exclusively by immigrants, is in most cases to be avoided:

(a) This development tends to separate immigrants and natives, rather than to encourage integration;

(b) Within communities, this tendency produces minorities, and favours the development of group psychoses of a highly emotional and uncontrollable nature.

3. Facilities and Services

An "ad hoc" organisation in receiving communities should help immigrants to find their feet. In particular, immigrants should be informed concerning the existence, location, and uses of the services and facilities - clinics, hospitals, public offices, etc. - at the disposal of the community.

4. Social life

A prerequisite for any form of action is improvement of the educational level of immigrants. This, to help them attain the social and economic level of the adopted community, and to acquire the mental habits and qualities compatible with the cultural level of a modern industrial society. It is thus considered necessary:

(a) To start or develop educational courses for adults;

(b) To bring immigrants and natives together in recreational activities or within the social associations of the community;

(c) According to the particular requirements of each town community, to form educative and cultural organisations concerned with problems affecting the community as made up of immigrants and locals, encouraging the participation in these organisations of both immigrants and local inhabitants. The purpose of these organisations would be to obtain effective participation of both categories in the life of the community;

(d) Propaganda through mass communication media in favour of reciprocal acceptance and toleration.

Although situations differ, the action taken in the various European countries does not always take fully into account the requirements which must be satisfied for development of the process of adaptation.

More urgent and more ample means should be employed in countries where industrial development is a fairly recent event, and in which the migratory movement, although starting later, has assumed very substantial proportions. Highly industrialised countries have generally already found the solutions to their problems, but countries in the process of development or as yet underdeveloped are likely to encounter the same problems in the process of development.

As an example, and mainly as a basis for discussion, the following distribution of competence is suggested:

At the Government level:

(a) Primary education and basic preparatory education for work.

(b) Creation of an information service reaching potential emigrants at departure areas, and supplying them with data concerning employment possibilities, manpower requirements, and the qualifications required in the various industrial regions of each country.

(c) Legislation in favour of cheap housing; financial support of local public and private enterprise in housing projects.

At the municipal level:

(a) Encouragement of the public initiatives necessary to promote adjustment and integration of immigrants.

(b) The creation of information offices for immigrants (advice concerning facilities and services, etc.).

(c) Propaganda in favour of an open attitude towards immigrants.

(d) Promotion of all initiatives tending to improve the housing situation.

At the production unit level:

On the part of the firm:

(a) Specific training and general instruction of the immigrant concerning the operation, background, aims, etc. of the company.

(b) Accident prevention training.

(c) Post-entry courses affording the opportunity of advancement.

On the part of the unions, on the other hand, action should not be limited solely to presenting claims, but should include the transposition of the integration achieved within the union, to the social sphere.

Report No. 3

ADJUSTMENT TECHNIQUES FOR ADAPTING RURAL WORKERS MIGRATING TO INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES

Part I

POINT OF VIEW OF EMIGRATION COUNTRIES

by Elie Dimitras

INTRODUCTION

1. Techniques for adapting rural workers who emigrate to the industrial sector of another country comprise a series of measures, based mainly on practical experience of social welfare work on behalf of such workers. But progress in the social sciences has produced added knowledge of the adjustment problem for emigrants, and practical conclusions which have made it possible to test and revise the empirical measures and discover new ones. The practical and theoretical contributions together now supply a set of more or less valid techniques though they do not yet constitute a "sociological technology" as reliable as industrial technology. Thus the most careful and conscientious application of these techniques will not result in an "ideal" emigration operation so far as emigrant adjustment is concerned, though it may reduce the social cost to a minimum.

To illustrate the importance of reducing this social cost it will be recalled that at an earlier, unhappier period, large numbers of emigrants were packed like animals in unsanitary ships and never reached their destination alive. Since then the most elementary adaptive measure has been at least to see that emigrants reach the receiving country safe and sound. The fact that adjustment techniques constitute no perfect human engineering process does not mean that their application and improvement can be neglected in any society which respects the dignity of man and seeks economic and social efficiency.

2. In this report we shall follow "the actual line taken by the

migration process. By this method, the specific problems encountered by immigrants may be examined at each stage of the process and the means and techniques which have proved valid can be suggested". (1)

There are three stages or phases in present-day migrations:

- Departure from the country of origin;
- Residence in the foreign country;
- Return to the country of origin.

At each stage, intergovernmental agencies, governments, employers' associations, trade unions, and private welfare organisations have a part to play and responsibilities to assume in the adjustment of migrant workers, especially those of rural origin, who transfer to industry or the tertiary sector in another country. It is this role, and especially that of the non-governmental organisations, which will be given prominence in this paper.

3. The problems of the social and cultural gap between countries of departure and host countries, the clash of the two cultures and the theoretical aspect of the adjustment process, as well as the practical measures and techniques used in international migrations of rural workers into industry, have several points in common with the problems and measures that concern this population category in internal migration. The contents of Mrs. Magda Talamo's introductory report are thus partly applicable to international migration.

First Phase

PREPARATION AND DEPARTURE OF EMIGRANTS

4. Briefing is a prime factor in preparing the emigrant for adaptation to the country of destination, and also in the event of return to his home country. Information must be given not only to actual emigrants, but to potential emigrants in order to prevent any wrong decision. A worker who has already made the decision to emigrate may find himself in a "mental state ... such that he is unable to benefit by this breifing". (2) Intending emigrants are sometimes "carried along with the tide", to use their own expression, and persist in their decision to leave even if they are afterwards informed that the conditions offered in the foreign country would not suit them. The emigration 'atmosphere' may neutralise the briefing if information is given too late, e.g. at the time of selection or on signature of the contract of employment, which is often not even read. Thus it is essential that general information on emigration

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(1) UNESCO, Draft manual on the cultural integration of immigrants, 1959.
(2) UNO, Social Welfare Programmes for Migrant Workers, 1963, p.16.

be given to the entire population, "perhaps while still at school". (1)

5. This preliminary briefing should supply pointers regarding the advisability of emigration, and lay special stress on the difficulties of adjustment to industrial surroundings and on the industrial and social function in the foreign country. It is important that intending migrants of rural origin be warned that industrial society is both very like and unlike their own society; unless properly informed, rural migrants from Southern Europe are apt to confuse the emancipated behaviour of women in Western Europe with sexual promiscuity. Rural workers should hence be taught that, even in an industrial society, there are values, moral standards and taboos. Any general information programme must incidentally often correct various wrong impressions of industrial society, due to misrepresentations by mass media. These same means must be used to teach intending emigrants, for instance, that in spite of appearances, women in Europe do not behave in daily life as film stars do on the screen.

6. Preliminary information designed for the general public must be supplemented for those intending immigrants who finally make up their minds to leave the country. Whether emigrating through an organisation, a governmental or non-governmental mission, or under their own responsibility as tourists, workers can and must be given more detailed information about the country of destination.

Information on the following questions must in every instance be supplied free of charge before departure to all immigrants and their families, either in their own language or in a language they are able to understand, and with proper regard for their intellectual level: climate, geography; local food habits; cost of living; wages and deductions; employment prospects; nature of local industry and agriculture; opportunities for self-employment such as in the professions; handicrafts or commerce; trade unions; housing facilities; social security; regulations concerning occupational accidents and diseases, maternity, old age, unemployment, family allowances, health services, medical care and hospital accommodation; education; educational facilities for children and adults; political organisations; taxes to which immigrants are liable; rights and duties of immigrants at law; administration of justice, police, civil protection; church facilities; addresses of chaplains and church organisations.(2) (cf. UNESCO - op.cit.)

Intending emigrants should also be shown standard budgets to demonstrate that a proportionately high cost of living accompanies high wages. Emigrants tend to reason on income only.

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(1) UNO: Social Welfare Programmes for Migrant Workers, 1963, p.16.
(2) Further details on this subject will be found in the following I.L.O. papers:
Convention (No. 97) concerning migration for employment (revised in 1949).
Recommendation (No. 86) concerning migration for employment (revised in 1949).

7. All kinds of media should be used for providing this preliminary information. It Italy, for example, the following are used: the social services, the national or regional specialised press, publications of general social welfare organisations, the national press (newspapers and magazines), radio and television. "The use of public information media should however be more intensive; the information network is not always densest where it is most needed, particularly in Southern Italy". (1)

The personal briefing of prospective immigrants is accomplished "directly (or by) documentation specially prepared by the governmental bodies concerned (labour exchanges, emigration offices) or by voluntary social welfare agencies. For their part, the representatives of the receiving countries also supply documentary material (leaflets on working conditions and social legislation, films ...), sometimes even staff to give information directly to those concerned, and when the labour contract is handed over to the migrants before departure, to provide even more precise information". (2) But the contract and leaflets must be drawn up in such a way that emigrants can understand and be impelled to read them, which is hardly the case at present.

8. This briefing is more effective if followed by a protracted interview with the prospective emigrant. A welfare officer can, at this stage, make the psychological and social preparation of the emigrant more specific and personal. The interview as practised by the I.C.E.M. in Italy consists of a negative approach to emigration by the specialist, who first tries to describe its drawbacks, and then if the subject decides to go 'anyway'. he continues with a 'positive approach .

In the case of intra-European emigration, however, recruitment takes place so rapidly that recruiting agents have time to exchange but a few words with the emigrant before passing on to the next. Distances have also been shortened by the development of transport. For this reason, prospective intra-European emigrants are sometimes content with brief indications supplied by recruiting agents or by relatives and friends already settled in a European immigration country, and go abroad 'to see for themselves if it is alright', with the option of returning the next day if the situation does not please them. They make their own choice independently after arriving in the receiving country. Another thing which encourages them to leave without serious preparation is the prospect of staying in the foreign country for a limited period, during which they believe - wrongly - that they can put up with the hardships of emigration. These difficulties are minimised by emigrants, who are convinced that a foreign clime must be paradise on earth. This situation naturally causes severe disappointment to workers upon arrival in the host country, and is an obstacle to adjustment.

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(1) UN: Social Welfare Programmes for Migrant Workers, 1963, p.16.
(2) UN: Social Welfare Programmes for Migrant Workers, 1963, p.17.

The personal preparation of prospects for intra-European emigration, which consists in free or even disorderly flows of mainly temporary migrants, still requires a study of suitable preparation techniques. These would be based both on the techniques used in preparing conventional emigration and on the information and guidance techniques applied to the national labour market, since Europe is tending to become a single market. Social services as decentralised as possible so that intending emigrants have a real opportunity of consulting them, are essential in every emigration country. These services should be in touch with their opposite numbers in the receiving country, prospective emigrants given their addresses before departure and the services should as far as possible be notified of the departure of the emigrants so that they can be welcomed on arrival. Farewell ceremonies organised at the station by the welfare or other services would be helpful. In addition, at points of exit from the departure country and on the ship, train, etc., along the way, a welfare officer could be responsible for giving information and especially for channelling emigrants towards the general or specialised welfare services of the host country. Thus can be reached on departure those who may not have previously consulted an information service. Such a welfare officer may act as a kind of 'courier' on long journeys. If the journey is short he can also accompany the migrants to the main destination points, where they should be met by an official correspondent in the receiving country, who would then take charge of the migrants. The time taken on the journey could be profitably used for briefing the emigrants on board through interviews and the distribution of suitable documentation.

9. In cases where both the recruitment services and emigrants have plenty of time (as in overseas emigration organised by the I.C.E.M.) linguistic, occupational and even social preparation is given. Largely occupational preparation is also provided for certain groups of rural emigrants from Southern Italy and Spain who go to work in Germany. This example suggests that, even in intra-European migration, it is possible to promote the "free circulation" of workers in fact as well as in law by organising departures, arrivals and returns of emigrants and allowing time for preparation. Knowledge of the demand for foreign manpower in one country and of the available supply of rural workers from another is hence already available or could be obtained long enough beforehand to plan for recruitment and serious preliminary and direct preparation. The current shortage in Western Europe of skilled workers and not merely labourers from the Mediterranean agricultural countries shows that such preparation is essential.

10. Moreover, in intra-European migrations, a large proportion of workers return or expect to return to their home country after a few years' stay abroad. It is important to make them understand that preparation

and information facilitating the migrant's adjustment and efforts will help both his stay in a foreign country and possible return to his country of origin. The intra-European emigrant gears his behaviour mainly to the possibility of return.

11. Preselection, selection and recruitment also influence adjustment of the emigrant. Experience shows that migratory currents frequently form before governments have signed the relative agreements. Private, irresponsible recruiting agents organise departures with little or no precaution. Emigrants recruited in this way are sometimes turned back at the frontier of the receiving country and debarred from entry. If they manage to get in, they again fall victims to brokers from their own country who wait for them at the station 'to find them a job' in return for a large commission. This type of recruitment is at the root of adjustment difficulties not only for the first wave of emigrants, but for succeeding waves recruited through official agencies. Discontent and low morale spread from one emigrant to another.

Another method of recruitment is to enrol a small group of workers from the same village who then bring in relations and relations' relations. The community of the country of origin thus rematerializes in the receiving country. In most cases, this form of recruitment is satisfactory from the point of view of social and occupational adjustment purposes, particularly in the case of intra-European migrations, whose temporary nature implies maintenance of the bonds, social structure and culture of the country of origin. This regrouping of compatriots does not necessarily prevent contacts with the population of the host country. On the contrary, a balance is struck between the two populations; the emigrants come under a dual social control: the home community and host community; divergencies are reduced; and social and cultural exchanges between resident population and migrants are slowly but surely developed.

Where recruitment is anonymous, natural social groups are frequently broken up. A group going to the same firm is made up of emigrants from different villages or regions of a country. In the host country, although the emigrants are all of the same nationality they must adapt to one another as well as to their new surroundings. Yet by rational preselection, it is possible to form more or less homogeneous groups. Homogeneity is moreover often restored after the group has settled in the receiving country. Distressing cases of dislocation among primary groups must also be avoided, as in current instances where father, mother and eldest daughter may be employed in three different towns a long way apart, as in Germany. Better planning of emigration would enable such uprootings to be avoided, for they complicate the process of adjustment, which is difficult enough in itself. It should be remembered that community and family links count for a great deal among rural workers and are not easily replaced.

12. When emigrants are recruited, allowance must be made for their

possible desire later on to send for their families. In addition to information on the very real difficulties of regrouping due to housing shortages and other considerations, the emigrant must ascertain whether members of his family are considered desirable by the country of destination (thus the physically unfit are refused by certain countries). In such cases it is suggested that the whole family be seen by the recruiting mission, and that the emigrant be issued a certificate to guarantee that he can send for his family.

In intra-European migrations, it would seem advisable to grant the emigrant from the outset the right, in order to keep the family together, to change his job or his employer before expiration of the contract which obliges him to remain with the same firm or in the same district for six months or a year.

13. Since numbers of emigrants leave their families in the home country, a useful adjustment factor is to assist the family to solve difficulties caused by the absence of its head or other members. The emigrant's mind is thus at rest, and his enevitable homesickness is not made worse by other serious worries.

Before departure, the emigrant must undertake to remit part of his wages to his family dependents, since distressing cases exist of workers failing to meet their family obligations. A special clause in their migrant workers' contracts authorises Swedish firms to deduct a part of the worker's wages and send it to their families at home. (1)

Second Phase

MIGRANT WORKERS IN THE RECEIVING COUNTRY

14. The briefing and preparation given to the migrant worker in the country of departure conditions him for adjustment. But adaptation is a two-fold process which also concerns the population of the receiving country. The general public of that country, the working environment (management, supervisory staff and fellow workers), neighbours and all other groups and persons who have to come into contact with the migrants must be informed beforehand about the social and cultural characteristics of the foreign workers, their reasons for emigrating and their expectations. Suitable preparation must be provided to condition all these groups to welcome the immigrants. Such preparation is essential to avoid the extremes of prejudice or partiality towards foreigners. An example will suffice to illustrate the need for preparing the population in the receiving country.

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(1) U.N. Social Welfare Programmes for Migrant Workers 1963, p. 17.

A group of Greek workers arrived in a small German town a little before Christmas. The employer and his staff received the immigrants into their houses for the festivities. The employer handed over his former house for them to live in, together with some of his furniture and a television set. The parish priest invited the (Orthodox) immigrants to join in his youth activities (Catholic). The newcomers attended dances. But a few months later the local population withdraw into its shell and avoided all contact with the immigrants. The rural workers, who had been surprised to be welcomed into families and clubs where they met girls they could dance with, for instance, mistook the significance of the gesture. They explained to their German fellow-workers that, in the rural community they hailed from, a girl who agreed to dance with a stranger would agree to anything ... An attitude of welcome without knowing how to go about it is not enough. In Paris, an association which organises the reception of Negro workers in French families is careful at the start to choose families which have no young daughters.

15. In spite of the briefing and preparation of the host community and the migrant workers themselves,everything appears strange to them in the early days of their arrival in the new country: the climate, the urban and industrial environment, the food, and the people. It is important that formal receptions and briefing courses on the work and urban life be organised in the reception centres and factories in the first few weeks of the migrant workers' stay. These activities should be in the hands of fellow-countrymen or others who speak the immigrants' language They must not only be 'interpreters' but qualified welfare workers, since the immigrant at first will be approaching all problems and difficulties through them alone. In European immigration countries, persons employed as interpreters are often unqualified and by exploiting both employers and immigrants are apt to create additional difficulties for both management and labour. It would therefore be desirable for the interpreters to be specially trained social workers belonging to a body supervised by the Government, employers' associations, trade unions and specialised private organisations of the countries of departure and reception. The International Social Service would perhaps be best qualified for this work.

16. Since a great part of intra-European migration is accounted for by rural workers who arrive without work contracts as 'tourists', official 'guidance officers' should be there to meet them at the station or port in the host country. Unfortunately this job has so far been largely performed by fellow-countrymen who are out for what they can get, who exploit the workers' ignorance and sometimes the employers' urgent need for labour. Competent and officially appointed guidance officers might also be given the job of directing new arrivals to hostels, putting them in touch with interracial associations and complying with certain administrative formalities on their behalf.

17. The working environment, and especially migrants' foremen and co-workers, play a leading part in a vocational and social adjustment. It is essential to prepare these groups so that they can help rural migrants entering a factory for the first time in their lives. They will need at first to make allowances for low performance, clumsiness and other difficulties of rural workers, while helping them to reach the level of efficiency of the local staff. As the immigrants do not understand the language of the receiving country, interpreter-welfare officers will be needed in the workshop. But these should organise meetings out of working hours, where the immigrants can meet national workers to discuss problems of work and working life in and out of the factory, including trade union matters. If the immigrant is to be made to feel that he is part of the firm, he must understand both his social and job functions, and so must take an interest in the union. But this will only be possible when he is convinced that union membership will not get him into trouble. This fear is understandable, since to rural immigrants, the trade union is quite as new and strange as the production line. Then again, the feeling of insecurity and the lack of a job outlet in case of dismissal cause the immigrant to hesitate to sign up with a trade union. Yet his membership is essential, even where his employer's interests are concerned. The claims and complaints of rural immigrants who are not members of a union thus gradually accumulate and eventually explode without warning to the disadvantage of all sides. Incidents caused by groups of 'rebellious' immigrants have recently been only too common everywhere in Europe.

18. At regular meetings held after work, a representative of the employer might give explanations on pay-slips, deductions, family allowances, etc. This representative would thus have an opportunity of ascertaining further immigrant needs in regard to life in and out of the plant. The representative could also outline the firm's prospects, its reasons for satisfaction with and expectations from immigrant workers.

19. In the early stages, migrant workers, especially from rural areas, need spare-time activities organised by the firm, the community or by trade or church organisations. Such leisure activities should be based on those of the home country in the initial period. Later on, as the immigrants become progressively adjusted, they form acquaintanceships which bring them into contact with the activities of the host country. But rural immigrants may usefully be told how leisure-time is spent in towns and be taught the significance of leisure-time behaviour in industrialised countries. Many a brawl would be avoided, for instance, if immigrants learned not to be annoyed if the girl who danced with them last Saturday dances with another local or foreign friend on the following Saturday. The attention of rural migrants must also be drawn to the fact that leisure cannot be prolonged after the weekend. The ordered schedule of the industrial worker: work - family matters - weekend - back to work,

etc. exasperates country folk who are accustomed to work and to amuse themselves almost whenever they choose.

An appropriate social background is essential to assist the initiation of rural workers into the urban way of life. It is not sufficient to set up a 'Centre' in town. It must be provided with experienced organisers capable of so dealing with the immigrant membership as to obtain its active participation in the functions of the Centre; otherwise it will have to be placed under policy supervision to preserve order, as has happened with certain clubs for Greek workers in Germany.

20. Another activity which encourages adaptation is the organisation of language classes. But to attract rural immigrants classes must be adapted to their standards and interests and audio-visual methods must be used. Attendance must also be encouraged either by arranging for the classes to be held near the immigrants' place of residence at the weekend or in the factory during the week. In this latter case, the employer might advisably pay immigrants half an hour's wages for each hour's attendance at classes.

Thus in Europe at the present time rural workers emigrate with the primary aim of earning money as quickly as possible and then going home. They are not prepared to lose an hour's overtime to attend classes. Cultural activities (visits, etc.) must be organised cheaply to attract rural workers, who are reluctant spenders. Classes and cultural activities must be conducted by specialists in popular culture who know how to overcome the indifference of the masses. Under these conditions, cultural activities and classes would be more successful among rural immigrants.

21. Language courses would be greatly appreciated by rural migrants who have already some general education and perhaps an elementary practical knowledge of a craft. When they leave their own country, such workers aspire to learn a technical trade abroad, but they are employed on production-line or other simple jobs in the plant which require only attention and manual dexterity. They then feel it is not possible for them 'to learn a trade', for 'there are no trades' in Europe. Their only way to promotion is to attend vocational evening clasees, and thus obtain a certificate of proficiency, which is appreciated in the receiving country and even more in their own. It would be useful to combine certain language classes with preliminary vocational training for such immigrants. The long weekend, which the migrant worker does not know what to do with, can be put to good use by helping such workers to achieve their desire for further training better suited to needs in their country of origin, which cannot be had by simply working in the shops. This type of rural migrant worker will thus derive satisfaction from his stay abroad and job at the factory.

If denied this satisfaction, he desperately searches for a firm where he can 'learn a trade' that will serve him on returning to his home country. Most of the time of course he goes to the wrong places: in order to learn how to repair cars he may try to get into a big motor car factory, where he is put back to work on the production line. Disappointed, he tries to change firms again, and turnover pronenesssets in.

Other migrant rural workers in this same category abandon any attempt to learn a trade and plan instead to accumulate a large nest-egg as soon as they possibly can. They too will become restive and look for the firm paying the highest nominal wage. Accustomed upon leaving their country to regard higher income as the criterion without realising that it goes hand in hand with higher expenses, they are quite ready to leave a factory, locality or country for quite small differences in pay. This rapid turnover of migrant rural manpower is harmful to the workers themselves, to employers and to the country of origin. Adequate techniques and measures to meet this stiuation have yet to be studied.

One such technique would be to offer migrant rural workers, whose ambition is to go back to the land when they go home, an opportunity to visit farms, mechanised agricultural centres, cattle markets, exhibitions of agricultural machinery, and the like, or even to organise weekend or holiday training courses at district farm co-operatives. Such activities are valued by rural workers who have temporarily become industrial workers, and may have the effect of settling them in the factory or in the area, since they then feel that they are learning something which will be of value when they go back home.

In present-day intra-European migration, it is mainly the prospect of ultimate return which determines the behaviour of rural migrant workers. We must fall in with this same point of view if we are to help them adjust themselves, which means behaving in a manner acceptable to the host community while deriving satisfaction from their temporary stay abroad.

22. The adjustment of rural immigrants is also facilitated by so determining their place of residence as to enable them to live among their fellow countrymen and yet develop contacts with the people of the host country. Intermediate solutions between a ghetto existence and dispersion must be found, since segregation in a ghetto causes them to live in a closed circuit, whereas dispersion and consequent isolation accentuate the feeling of being uprooted.

The accommodation itself must also provide immigrants with a minimum of comfort and, where hostels are used, care must also be taken to avoid putting persons who work on different shifts in the same room or on the same floor, otherwise noise in the hostel becomes impossible owing to the coming and going of the various shifts. The hostel must of course be more than a reception centre. Sporting and cultural activities are necessary, but language courses, recreational workshops, and gardening plots must also be provided. Here workers of rural origin would have an opportunity of devoting a few hours to some 'creative' activity, which they so sorely lack at the factory. They would moreover avoid the boredom of the long weekend and learn something they could make use of after return to their own country.

23. Bringing the family together contributes to the adaptation of immigrants. A migrant worker who has his family with him is less inclined to change firms, locality or country. His children easily mix with the children of the receiving country, and thus give the mother an opportunity of making neighbourhood acquaintances and getting into the local social environment. Through the children mothers sometimes even learn to speak the language of the host country before the fathers, especially if the children attend school. In fact the problem for all migrant workers, especially in the more temporary variety of intra-European migration, is maintaining the language of the home country, since the plan is eventually to return. The language and history of the country of the migrant workers must therefore be taught, whether in schools of the receiving country attended by numerous migrant children, in Sunday schools, by correspondence course, or by radio and television. Holiday camps may usefully be organised in both the home and host countries for the children of migrants, as well as boarding schools in the country of origin. Many migrant children of school age are in fact sent back to their grandparents so they can study in their home country and enable the mother to carry on paid work, often in the same factory as her husband.

Family life raises various other problems of adjustment; immigrants coming from rural areas and a barter economy, are often largely unable to manage a cash budget. Neighbours, welfare workers and co-workers can teach the immigrant household to spend more rationally, for instance by buying the children better food instead of a television set. Suitable domestic training should therefore be given in the departure and receiving countries to both married and unmarried women who emigrate. Such education for women should be supplemented by sex instruction in the broadest sense of the term. The young country girl is exposed to risks which she must learn to face sensibly - infanticide is hardly the best way out for an unmarried mother. Corresponding training should obviously be given to male migrants as well.

24. The most upsetting event for migrants of rural origin, whether men or women, is the transition from a personal community to an anonymous society. In the former, the dominant culture is collectively imposed on the individual and social controls are all-powerful. In the second, culture is a more individual matter and personal responsibility is stronger than social control. Institutions and systems of values (e.g. religion and ethics) thus do not exert the same hold on the migrant as in his own village. Realisation of the personal quality of religion and ethics makes slow progress among migrant workers.

It is therefore important that an endeavour be made by religious institutions to adapt themselves to this change and educate immigrants up to it. This aspect of adaptation is relatively easier for the Catholic and Protestant Churches, since the clergy of the country of origin who care for immigrants in the reception country can be initiated by the local clergy into the pastoral duties of an industrial society. On the other hand, the Greek Orthodox Church is subjected to an understandable but unjustified bias, in that differences between rural as opposed to urban and industrial pastoral activities are readily attributed to doctrinal differences between that Church and the Western Churches. Hence they hesitate to adapt themselves to new tasks and to religious and social needs of immigrant workers. Similar problems must face the Moslem clergy in Europe.

But it is not only religious leadership which needs to be adapted. The administrative and social function (officials, welfare officers, trade union leaders) of Mediterranean countries for the first time is faced with problems of this scale. An effort to adapt such officials to their new duties through accelerated training must be made before they are appointed to posts abroad or to emigration organisations. On the subject of the training of welfare workers specialising in the problems of migrants, the U.N. and the I.L.O., in co-operation with the Swiss Government, held a meeting of experts at Mont Pelerin from 7th to 13th October 1962. The latter's conclusions already form a sound basis for the training of specialists in welfare work for migrant workers.

Third Phase

THE RETURN OF MIGRANTS

25. The return of migrants of active age was formerly considered to be a proof of maladjustment and failure. Nowadays, particularly where migration within or to Europe is concerned, return may be and often is a risk marking success or even a factor of adjustment.

In the first place, there is the holiday return which certain European employers deliberately extend for migrants. This temporary return helps them to 'take courage' - to use their own expression. They renew links with their country, see their families, and bask in familiar surroundings. When they go back abroad they can bear the separation better because it is temporary. Returning for political elections is also a help to adjustment, since it gives migrants the feeling that they are n not cut off from the body of the nation and carry some weight in their own country. Just as their fellow workers in the receiving country, they are able to exercise their political rights.

26. Plenty return on account of failure, although numbers are limited by the high cost of return journey from overseas and since migrants in

Europe are able to try two or three jobs fore giving up the experiment. Moreover, many maladjusted migrants prefer nowadays to stay in European immigration countries, passing from one town to another, from one country to the next and then to the next, working at small jobs or drawing various forms of public assistance. Special measures should be studied to deal with these migrants and trans-migrants' so as to prevent the formation in Europe of a marginal, rootless, vagrant, antisocial labour force, like the 'hoboes' during the great immigration period in the United States.

27. The return of successful migrants raises different problems according to whether they are of active or retirement age. The latter have certain secondary readaptation problems, as they no longer exercise an occupation but live on pensions or resources acquired abroad. Yet their presence, habits and interrelations create mutual influences between the culture they have brought back from abroad and their own native culture. This applies particularly to former emigrants to overseas countries who have returned to their homeland in the Mediterranean area. No special measures have so far been taken to deal with such returns.

28. Migrants returning while still active have more complex readjustment problems. The drive which is characteristic of such age groups, the need to become reintegrated into economic and social life, other social, cultural and vocational factors and the resources brought back from the foreign country are all possible causes of friction with the home environment.

A study must be made of measures to promote the smooth blending of elements brought home from abroad with the local culture and to help integrate the migrant at all levels of social life. Yet care must be taken that the pressure of the home community does not compel the returning migrant to rid himself of the positive contribution to his occupation and his daily life which he has brought back from abroad.

Little study has been devoted to the problems of adjustment on return. The situation is new and the countries concerned have had neither the opportunity nor yet enough perspective to deal with it systematically. A co-ordinated international research project recently launched by the O.E.C.D. attempts to bridge this gap by including the adjustment of returning active migrants as a subject. The practical conclusions of this research will probably enable certain adjustment techniques at the return phase to be devised.

PART TO BE PLAYED BY NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS

29. The application of the adjustment techniques for adapting migrant workers outlined above depends on governments, non-governmental organisations and private welfare institutions.

A good deal of the responsibility for the adaptation of migrant workers falls upon employer and worker organisations through their direct or indirect participation in the preparation of governmental decisions and long-term planning.

First the employers' associations must report their foreign manpower needs to the government and see that this labour is recruited through official channels under bilateral agreements and not through profiteering agents. These organisations must also make sure that the information, preparation and recruitment of migrant workers are in conformity with adjustment techniques. Managements must notify any defect discovered in the first phase of emigration and demand that it be rectified, since the ill-effects of poorly organised emigration at the departure end are primarily felt by employers.

In the receiving country, employers must set up the reception and training facilities needed for the adaptation of migrant workers. Large firms do this alone or through welfare associations subsidised by them, but these associations can also serve the smaller firms unable to provide for the reception and adjustment of migrants, where in any case numbers taken in are few.

Employers' and similar organisations in the departure country have their own part to play. Farmers' associations and industrial employers must have the right to look into the emigration policy and the techniques applied. But through their regional offices, such organisations must also direct possible migrants towards information centres or services. Another of their jobs is to keep in touch with those who go away, inform them of developments in the region they are leaving and of opportunities for re-employment when they return. Liaison must also be established between the employers' organisations of the departure and receiving countries, to make sure that adjustment techniques are applied in the mutual interests of both sides and of the migrant. Liaison of this kind must precede any emigration drive in a country. Finally, contacts and consultations between the organisations of several emigration and immigration countries are essential for exchanges of experience and to co-ordinate specific adjustment measures, since a number of migrants move about from one country, sometimes from one continent, to another.

30. The tasks of workers' organisations are similar to those of the employers' associations. It is gratifying to find that these organisations have abandoned their reluctant attitude towards the introduction of foreign labour. They have gradually come to understand that their job is to offer employment to non-nationals while making sure that the immigrants cause no undue competition on the labour market. The organisations in the countries of departure encourage emigration, since it relieves the labour market and exerts pressure towards wage increases. Trade unions in emigration countries also take an interest in the adjustment, vocational training and union experience of their fellow-countrymen, who are expected to form a chosen body of workers, concious of their

problems and of the position they should occupy in society. Yet contacts between unions in the receiving countries and those in the departure countries must be improved if they are to be effective.

31. In both departure and receiving countries, national non-governmental organisations and trade unions must act after comparison of their own points of view. It is important that committees to co-ordinate the adjustment of migrant workers be set up at all levels of the trade and the region, and that they include representatives of employers and unions as well as of specialised official bodies and appropriate private welfare organisations. A network of committees extending over both the departure and the receiving countries would thus succeed in applying adjustment techniques more effectively, in improving them, and in guaranteeing a basic infrastructure in the common interests of all parties and especially the migrant. Co-ordination of this kind was the main recommandation of the group of experts of the U.N. and the I.L.O. at Mont-Pèlerin.

The vast scale of the problems of present-day migration, especially in Europe, leaves no room for private interests. The co-operation of all parties can alone provide migrant labour with an opportunity to live and work abroad at practically no social cost. One example of such fruitful co-operation is that of the highly successful temporary immigration of Japanese miners to Germany. The success of this experiment has impelled France to study the possibility of a similar venture. Although here no workers transferred from rural occupations to industry, the fact that both the geographical and the socio-cultural distance between Japan and Western Europe was overcome shows what can be done in the way of adaptation if all precautions are taken and all parties co-ordinate their action. It is also a striking instance of how large numbers of non-European rural workers may be received and integrated into Europe, for in the long run these constitute practically the only major reserve of manpower available to our continent.

Part II

THE ADAPTATION OF RURAL AND FOREIGN WORKERS TO INDUSTRY
THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE RECEIVING COUNTRY

by Karl Wilhelm Herbst

A. INTRODUCTION

As at 30th September 1948, 13.4 million persons were employed in German industry. About 15 years later, on 30th June, 1963, this figure had risen to 21,561,000 (less Berlin). Whereas in February 1950 there were still 1,981,000 unemployed, by February 1962 the figure had fallen to 273,000 and to only 100,000 during the summer months. These figures show to what an extent the German manpower situation has improved and what a considerable increase there has been in the number of employed, i.e. an increase of over 8 millions in 15 years. This increase in employment figures was only possible in this country owing to the fact that, besides absorbing the unemployed, over 3 million women also found employment and that, up to 13th August, 1961, we received a continual influx of refugees from Central Germany and the former Eastern regions of Germany. Since, as far back as 1957, in spite of this rich source of manpower, it was already evident that such resources would one day be exhausted, industry made an increasing effort to rationalise and automatise the processes of production, in order to economise labour. Since such measures did not suffice to cover requirements in labour, measures were simultaneously introduced to recruit labour from countries with which Germany had friendly relations, above all in Europe. The result of this process was that, by the end of August of this year, about 850,000 foreigners were employed in the Federal Republic, making about 3.9 per cent of the total employed. Among these foreigners there were 300,000 Italians, 122,000 Spaniards, 113,000 Greeks and 32,000 Turks, the majority of whom were recruited by special commissions of the German Ministry of Labour in their own countries. In addition there are other foreign workers, principally from the neighbouring country of Austria, but also from Yugoslavia and Western European countries generally, together with workers from Africa and Asia. It is not our opinion that, with this number of foreign workers, there can be any question that the German labour market is unduly flooded with foreigners, especially as, in 1907, before the First World War, out of a total of 17 million employed in the area of the German Empire of that time, 900,000 were foreigners. We are conscious of the importance for our economy of employing foreigners, but we also know that it gives rise to numerous problems which can only be solved by joint action on the part of the State, the employers' associations, the trade unions and the welfare organisations. We are also aware that employment of foreigners makes particular demands on the firms employing them. Moreover we believe that the employment of foreign labour is not merely in the interest of the German economy, but that it is the joint task of all free peoples to assist non-industrialised areas where there is still a shortage of employment, and thus unemployment and poverty. All peoples today must therefore consider international migration as an important activity and must realise that the problems can only be solved jointly. I am therefore particularly glad that, during the present seminar, these problems are to be dealt with from the point of view both of the receiving country and the country of origin.

The adaptation of foreign rural workers to industry necessitates measures being taken both in the receiving country and the country of origin. I shall deal with the matter exclusively from the point of the receiving country, and moreover a country with full employment, or even better over-employment. We are confronted with the following problems:

(a) The recruitment of foreign workers for the firm, including problems connected with recruitment by public or private offices, those connected with nominal applications, medical examination, and the journey to the receiving country.

(b) Problems connected with the integration of foreign workers into the firm and into the population of the receiving country, including special problems connected with feeding, language, medical treatment and housing. Vocational training and arrangements for workers whose families want to join them are also closely connected with these.

I. The recruitment of foreign workers for the firm

There are three ways in which foreign workers can be recruited. The majority are recruited by commissions set up in the countries of origin (principally Italy, Spain, Greece, Turkey and Morocco). A further, by no means insignificant, group comes direct into the Federal Republic without passing through official channels, and applies within the country for work and residence permits. The third group consists of persons who were already employed in Germany and seek employment in another firm. The first group, i.e. those officially recruited for work in the Federal Republic, are recruited on the basis of bilateral agreements through the Federal Ministry for Placement and Unemployement Insurance, which is legally vested with a monopoly regarding placement. Agreements exist at present with Italy, Spain, Greece, Turkey and have more recently been concluded with Morocco. Recruitment on the basis of these agreements is carried on in the countries of origin in close co-operation between the German Ministry of Labour and its foreign opposite number in that country. Germany has set up commissions in the various countries of origin for this purpose.

The actual method of recruitment used is as follows :

- The German firm wishing to recruit foreign labour, makes an application in triplicate to the competent employment exchange. The application contains details concerning the number and type of workers and as full a description as possible of the knowledge and skills required. It is also in their interest to give details of the physical qualifications required and information concerning the size of the factory, production methods, and the population of the locality in which it is situated and of larger towns in the area. Applications must be accompanied by a lump sum to cover the extra cost of recruiting foreign labour. In return for this, the Ministry of Labour bears expenditure in connection with medical examination and travelling expenses. Such applications are then forwarded to the German recruiting commission in the foreign country concerned together with a work contract which has already been filled in and signed by the firm. The Commissions then inform the competent employment offices in the foreign country of the jobs available with the German firms. The foreign labour offices select applicants for the job and put them up to the German Committees. In this connection, it is important that the governments of the supplying countries undertake not to put forward any applicant with a criminal record. The German commissions then proceed to a final selection of applicants for the individual firms concerned, the firms in question being given the opportunity of sending a representative to take part in such selection. The final selection also includes a thorough medical examination by German doctors. Next comes the making out of a residence permit for the duration of the work contract and the organisation of transport to the locality of the firm. In spite of this meticulous process, it may occur in individual cases that, when a worker who has been recruited arrives at the recruiting firm, he is found to be unsuitable for the work for technical, health or other reasons which he may put forward. In such cases, the expense of his return journey as far as the frontier of his country of origin is supported by the employment office, which also reimburses the amount paid by the firm in full, if another foreign worker cannot be found in time.

This well organised process has shown itself to be extremely reliable, since to a large extent it excludes errors in connection with placement and also makes possible the orientation of recruiting in accordance with German domestic labour market requirements. It must however be admitted that to an increasing extent, and particularly in connection with the harmonisation of freedom of movement within the E.E.C., individual workers from abroad come to Germany without passing through this organised recruiting system. Such foreigners may apply to the German labour exchange for a work permit enabling them to obtain employment in a given firm. The work permit may be issued providing the foreigner is in possession of the required residence permit and can produce an entry visa issued for the purpose of obtaining employment. The visa is issued by the Consulate in the country of origin. The residence permit is issued by the German Police authorities and the work permit by the local labour exchange which is competent for the firm. The work permit may be refused if the employment of a foreigner is not desirable in view of the manpower situation. Work permits are usually issued for one year and are only valid for work in a given firm. They may however be issued without being restricted to a given firm if the worker has been employed in the same job category in the Federal Republic for a minimum of two years. It is possible for foreigners who have been employed for at least five years in the Federal Republic or who have lived uninterruptedly for eight years in the country to be issued with an unlimited work permit. When taking on foreigners who have not passed through the regular recruiting channels, it is always as well if the firm gives them assistance in their dealings with the labour exchange and the Police authorities. It is also recommended, in the case of both those recruited through the regular channels and those recruited individually, that attention should be paid not only to the vocational qualifications of the foreigner but that care should be taken not to settle those from rural areas immediately in large cities - a problem which should be given particular attention in connection with the migration of rural workers into industrial areas.

For some time past, there have been no reports of any particular difficulties in the adaptation of foreign workers who have obtained jobs in Germany without going through the official channels. However, the distribution of work permits and residence permits reveals that some of them have already been employed in other German firms. Here we encounter the danger that breaches of contract may be condoned. We therefore welcomed the establishment by the German Ministry of Labour of a central register of foreign workers which has helped to prevent people who have broken their contracts or have criminal records from obtaining a work permit for another firm. A new work permit will only be refused in cases where the breach of contract is entirely the fault of the foreign worker or where he is guilty of punishable offences. Until the circumstances in which the breach of contract took place are clarified, provisional or short term work permits may be issued for another firm, in order to avoid unfair hardship.

Firms employing foreign workers have had particularly good experience in connection with applying for workers whose relatives already worked in the firm or whose friends or acquaintances had supplied their names and addresses. We have therefore always insisted that, even in the case of recruitment through the official channels, provision should be made for nominal applications. There is however a danger that firms requiring workers may have lists of names of volunteers for emigration sent to them by private agencies. It is necessary to give an urgent warning against the use of such lists, since they do not merely contain the names of friends and relatives of workers already employed and the danger exists that in this way the careful preselection which is carried on in the countries of origin may be circumvented and the road opened to immigration by persons who are unsuitable on technical or personal grounds.

In the case of seasonal workers, a simplified system of 'recall', as is used in Germany, is recommended on technical grounds, since this gives the firm the opportunity of re-employing experienced workers who were with it the previous season, thus economising, or avoiding altogether, difficulties in connection with training and adaptation.

To sum up concerning the technique of recruiting labour, as far as possible, recruiting through official channels in the countries of origin should be given priority over private initiative, since it makes good pre-selection possible. That, however, does not exclude the possibility that the recruiting of individual workers by means of work permits and residence permits may be successful, particularly in the case of foreigners from countries where there is no recruiting commission. German firms have generally had good experience with such workers. The E.E.C.'s freedom of movement order No. 15 will also encourage such individual cases within the E.E.C. countries. It is the business of the firm and the labour exchanges to make a careful study of personal and technical qualities of the foreign applicants before issuing the work permit, so that any subsequent difficulties are avoided.

II. Problems arising once the worker enters the firm

General

We must assume that the vast majority of foreign workers leave their country of origin without any reliable information concerning living conditions in the country they are going to, how they will be accommodated, conditions of living and working and any national legislation which may be applicable to them. Even though foreigners have the same labour rights and duties as Germans, there are difficulties in connection with the diversity of requirements to which skilled workers are subject in Germany, in connection with the various job descriptions, and last but not least the various methods of vocational training. Further difficulties arise owing to the language problem, particularly as it may be observed that foreigners do not attend the language courses which are organised for them, or do so unwillingly. It must also be admitted that foreign workers are more prone than Germans to leave their jobs either in order to go back home or because they are looking for a better paid job in Germany. Above all, the chief concern of foreigners is to earn as much money as possible, because they want to send large sums of money to their families. But this also means that they are not keen on working the standard 42 to 44 hours week, but want to do as much overtime as possible or even work on holidays. Further problems arise in connection with the need to become accustomed to the habits and customs of the receiving country and with feeding, which they frequently find to be different from that to which they are accustomed, owing to different climatic conditions. Their adaptation is made even more difficult by their insufficient knowledge of the social security system and the ever-recurring problem of accommodation, particularly when at a later stage they want their families to join them. Finally, particular attention should be paid to special problems connected with the transition from a rural area of a not very highly industrialised country into an industrial area, since this makes particular demands on measures of adaptation. Frequently, the foreign worker comes from a rural job of limited scope in a completely rural environment and has only a primary education and little or no vocational training. We shall see therefore that problems arising in connection with adaptation to the social structure of a highly industrialised society, necessitate the creation of mutual understanding between the foreign workers and the citizens of the receiving country, enabling the migrating worker to accustom himself to the new environment.

The following facts have emerged in connection with the problems of adaptation mentioned above:

1. Integration into the firm

Foreign workers are placed on the same footing as Germans as regards their rights and duties. Since they are unaware of these conditions, it is recommended that the work contract and certain other documents should be drawn up in both languages and that the foreign worker should so far as possible be informed of general conditions in his own language before the work contract is concluded. In addition, we have introduced leaflets containing details as to the wages which can be earned and regulations as to minimum output, so that the foreigner is fully informed as to what his monthly earnings will be. Firms also make an effort to provide every foreign worker with a comparative table showing wages, taxation deductions, and the cost of board and lodging and social security charges, so that they know what is the maximum mmount they can save. This is important, since the chief thing the foreign workers want to know is how much they can send home.

Once the work contract has been signed and the above-mentioned information has been given, there comes the most important moment connected with the employment of foreigners - their arrival at the firm, which gives rise to problems of integration and constant care. It must be remembered that the foreigners have been removed from their former surroundings and must find their way in a world which is completely strange to them at the start. This does not apply only to externals, such as the way of living, climate, accommodation and language, but also to the very outlook on life, customs, morals, religion, politics, economic and social outlook. Generally speaking, foreigners arrive in the receiving country with great expectations and plenty of good will. They often believe that the possibilities of earning money are unlimited. But when they see that earning money implies hard work and a given standard of output, then comes the first deception. At this point it is as well to introduce the foreign worker carefully and cautiously into the working world of his firm, give him exhaustive instructions, so far as possible place him in the neighbourhood of foreigners already working in the firm, and not to put them on the same footing for piecework or even group-work with experienced workers. We of the Employers' Association have tried to point out the urgency of this problem to firms by means of seminars and discussions. If these integration problems are carefully watched and handled, the foreign worker can be spare many disappointments.

It is however also necessary to give the supervisory personnel in the German firms prior information concerning the mentality of the foreigners to be expected. In addition, it is recommended that only foreigners of one particular nation should be employed in any one firm, or at least in any one department of the firm. Introduction into the firm must be carried out carefully. The foreigner must be given confidence in the firm as a whole, its production and its social organisation. It is also important to avoid the misunderstandings which frequently occur owing to the foreigners' ignorance of the wage system. The conceptions of gross or net wages are often unknown. Wages tickets in several languages or translations of the wage account from have therefore proved useful. In addition, we supply foreigners with an interpreter who informs them about the most important problems connected with wages tax and social security where they are concerned.

The above description, which is by no means exhaustive, shows the extent of the adaptation problem.

The fact that the number of foreigners employed by us has risen sharply since 1961, proves that the problem can be solved and that the overwhelming majority of our foreign friends are pleased to take jobs in the Federal Republic. The key to good relations between the firm and its foreign workers is tolerance, which plays a special part in leadership when foreigners are employed. This implies a certain tactfulness mixed with a certain amount of firmness and some acquaintance with the foreigner's former environment. In everything we do we should base ourselves not on the differences between us but on what we have in common. We can also reckon with the fact that, particularly where Latins are concerned, there is a facility for rapid adaptation due to their temperament.

Feeding

Among the differences in environment, there is the question of feeding. The differences in diet, which may be considerable, are not accidental but due to climate. For this reason, it is better for the health of the foreign worker if in the long run he adapts himself to the feeding habits of the receiving country.

This however should not be carried out overnight. Adaptation can be facilitated by the organisation of small kitchens where the foreigners can prepare a meal themselves in addition to what is supplied in the canteen. To help firms over this problem, a Hamburg publishing firm has brought out cooking recipes for large-scale catering containing suggested meals for Italians. The Employers' Association have also made an effort to inform the various firms about the most important national dishes of Spaniards and Greeks. Lastly, we have recommended that firms should ask local food shops to include basic articles of foodstuffs such as are available in the workers' country of origin in their range.

Leisure

Foreigners do not like to be coddled by the firm during their leisure hours. Nostalgia continuously sends them to the railway stations, where they meet their compatriots. In spite of this, the firms have provided for leisure time in the form of sports fields and equipment, radio and television sets and the distribution of foreign newspapers.

The language problem

It is important that the foreign worker should be given the opportunity, as soon as he starts his job, of learning the language of the country in which he is going to work. Unfortunately, attendance at language courses organised for them has not been satisfactory. Some firms have attempted to arouse interest in these by offering prizes of various sorts to participants.

III. Medical Care

Where foreign workers have been recruited through the official channels, medical examination is compulsory. The problem is not so easy in the case of those who have come to Germany on their own account. Moreover, it is inevitable that the change of climate and type of food has an effect on their state of health. In addition, there is a tendency for foreigners to tray and obtain treatment for diseases which they had already contracted in their country of origin. It is therefore always advisable to see that applicants for jobs undergo a further medical examination before being taken on. In addition, it may be advisable to make provision for medical supervision during the initial period of training.

Accommodation

Any firm taking on foreign workers is confronted with the important and frequently difficult problem of accommodation. When foreigners are recruited in Germany through the official channels, the problem of accomodation must be solved before the application for supply of labour is accepted. The problem is made more difficult by the fact that, in view of the housing shortage, the number of furnished rooms available is insufficient. Firms must, therefore, assume responsibility for building such accommodation themselves. This type of building is subsidised, and the Federal Institute for Placement and Unemployment insurance has already made loans to an amount of 200 million DM available for the purpose. So far as the location of such accommodation is concerned, it is advisable not to place it directly on the site of the factory but in the near neighbourhood. In addition, the 'hut' type of building should be avoided as far as possible, except for seasonal workers. Accommodation should be adequately furnished, provided with heating and cupboards which can be locked. In addition to bedrooms, at least one recreation room should be provided. It is recommended that small kitchens should be incorporated, so as to enable the foreigners to prepare their own national meals if they want. We have not found it satisfactory to leave the cleaning of such accommodation to the foreign workers themselves. We have had excellent experience with many foriegn workers or married couples specially employed for this purpose. We have also made an attempt to ensure that several firms combine to provide joint accommodation, thus reducing expenditure.

In larger accommodation units, a superintendent should be appointed and made responsible for order and cleanliness.

In no case should accommodation for foreigners be provided free, since they should not be given any advantages over indigenous workers. The rent demanded from foreigners should, however, be reasonable. The better the accommodation provided for them, the less tendency will there be for them to make a nuisance of themselves outside factory hours.

A particular problem arises, when a large number of workers who have been permanently employed for some time bring their wives and children without any previous arrangements having been made to provide sufficient accommodation for them. Here again, joint efforts by the firm and the State are required. In no case, however, should individual accommodation or family lodgings be provided or offered as a makeshift, since this has an adverse effect on the will to work and on output in the long run.

The family problem

If foreign workers become permanent, they cannot remain for ever separated from their families, and we must pay attention to this problem. The family needs housing and implies the presence of more foreigners in the receiving country. The children must go to school. Later, arrangements must be made for their vocational training. In some circumstances, the women will also want to work, and it will be necessary to set up day nurseries or open existing ones to foreigners. Through co-operation with the educational authorities, provision must be made for foreign children to attend German schools in localities where there is a concentration of foreign workers, and the appropriate teaching staff be made available.

Doctors capable of speaking the foreign language required must be appointed to provide medical care for the foreigners and in particular their families.

Vocational training

One of the most important problems which confronts any employer before taking on any foreign workers is that of vocational training. In Germany, we have had the unfortunate experience that few if any of the type of outstanding skilled workers, whom we put to work in our factories after completion of an industrial or artisan apprenticeship, could be recruited from abroad. Firms have therefore been forced to reckon with the fact that, generally speaking, foreign workers are not skilled workers.

The difficulty is increased by the fact that, in the countries where workers are recruited, the job descriptions are not the same and the demarcation between jobs varies. We are therefore making an attempt, under the asupices of the E.E.C., to draw up comparative tables of the descriptions and limitations of the sort of jobs which usually concern migrants. Further difficulties arise from differences in the vocational training systems, since in Germany training is usually carried out in the factory and not, as in many other countries, principally in educational establishments. In addition, it cannot be assumed that foreign workers will have any sorts of documents such as certificates or skilled workers cards, establishing their skills.

The result of all this is that the receiving firms themselves have had to make an effort towards the training of their foreign workers, if they wanted to have anything more than mere labourers. Experience has shown that foreign workers can be trained comparatively easily and quickly for certain jobs. Firms must, however, adopt careful training methods and ensure that they have suitable instructors for the purpose. All the above measures must contribute to ensuring that the foreign workers is in a position to do his job properly and thus enabled to earn the same wages as a German worker. This is essential if the foreign worker is not to become a sort of sub-proletariat capable of doing only unskilled, strenuous work. The vocational training to be provided for the foreigner must above all consist of general basic training, enabling him to adapt himself to various work processes. It is also advisable to supplement training in the firm by means of evening classes.

According to our experience, however, it may be stated that foreigners have successfully established themselves in our factories thanks to the training given there. We believe that this is due both to the adaptability of the workers concerned and to the efforts to help them made on the German side.

To complete the picture, however, mention should be made of the fact that we have had good experience with the preliminary training of unskilled workers in their country of origin. This method has the advantage of eliminating the language difficulty during the basic training period. We have succeeded in organising training in the countries of origin in accordance with our requirements to such an extent that German instructors have been included in the training and participate in the final efficiency tests.

Care of Foreign Workers outside Working Hours

The above remarks show the considerable tasks which fall to the firm in connection with the adaptation of the foreign worker. They also show to what an extent the employers' associations must give directives and provide for exchanges of information and experience.

My statement would not, however, be complete without a reference to the necessity for the firm to supplement activities in connection with adaptation within the factory with certain activities outside working hours, particularly in connection with the foreign workers' leisure time. Here, important tasks fall to the religious organisations, the trade unions and the voluntary welfare organisations. These are in a position to organise clubs and meeting places for the foreigners, where they can meet their compatriots and talk with them. In addition, they can provide opportunities for foreign workers to meet citizens of the receiving country outside working hours, which can make a considerable contribution to accustoming them to their new country. Finally, there are opportunities for organising language instruction and explaining conditions in the receiving country. In each receiving country, therefore, these organisations should receive help from the State and be called upon to assist in efforts to help foreign workers in adapting themselves to conditions in the country.

Special measures taken by the employers' organisations and particularly publications :

The Federation of German employers' organisations is making a special effort to keep its affiliated organisations informed on all questions concerning recruitment, placement and care of foreign workers. This information is given in the first place by regular circulars. In 1961, 10,000 copies were issued of a brochure containing an overall review of these problems. Another brochure issued as a complement to this, contained the main legal provisions concerning the rights of foreign workers. In 1962, a three-volume work was compiled containing, in loose leaf form, all the past and current regulations connected with employment of foreigners. To improve the language difficulties, special glossaries of terms used at work have been issued to Greek and Spanish workers and to supervisory staff who work with them. A Turkish glossary is being prepared. Similar glossaries for Italians and special manuals dealing with specific technical sectors have been issued by members of the German employers' federation.

The Federation has urged its members to hold seminars to study problems of employing foreign workers. It also co-operates with the various adult training institutes in organising lectures and discussions on technical questions of recruitment, placement and assistance to foreign workers, and particularly on problems of treatment of these workers.

Many works newspapers issue special numbers for foreign workers. In addition many newspapers are printed in Germany for Italians, Spaniards, Greeks and Turks working there, and we work in close co-operation with the editors of these papers.

A foreign workers' section has been set up in the accident prevention service to deal in particular with questions of accident prevention for foreign workers. This section has made a special film with a sound track in Italian, Spanish, Greek and Turkish. It has also devised special warning signs without wording, and has published a brochure containing all the material on accident prevention wiich is available in foreign languages. The employers' federation co-operates with all institutions concerned with employmement of foreign workers, and the constant exchange of views ensures that all the necessary measures to assist foreign workers will be taken.

Differences in Mentality

Firms and government departments in all receiving countries will soon recognise what a difference there is in the mentalities of the various nations. Migrants frequently come from surroundings where there has been no gradual evolution from an artisan to an industrial economy, as is the case with us. They frequently emerge from a rural environment into a highly mechanised modern industrial state which has been developed in industrial countries over the last one and half centuries. It is as well to recognise the gulf separating the migrant from his new environment, since it is symptomatic of the problem of their adaptation to the receiving country. In this connection, help must be provided by the state, the firm and the appropriate voluntary organisations. Even so, it will only be possible for adaptation to take place gradually. But above all, it is essential to inform the citizens of the receiving country about the foreign worker and his mentality and thus make understanding possible. Providing all these measures are taken and coordinated, adaptation will be successful.

Closing Remarks

Our experience with migrant workers in Germany may be unreservedly described as successful. The fact that the migrants themselves are content with the situation is demonstrated by the fact that their numbers are constantly increasing. There were, of course, initial difficulties but today we are quite convinced that adaptation is possible, and that once this is achieved foreign workers can make a considerable contribution to our national product and the solution of our manpower problem.

The more the firms concerned, government departments and the welfare services recognise the social, political, vocational, human, psychological and cultural problems involved in adaptation, the easier is it for both sides to overcome the initial difficulties.

Such activities must be undertaken on the part of the receiving country with understanding and tact, and on the part of the foreign worker with a will to adapt himself. Once that occurs, the foreign worker soon becomes a contented member of the team to the advantage both of the firm and of himself. The more we are able to bring this about, the more will the employment of foreign workers contribute to the peaceful development of the western world and thus serve the interests of peace and understanding among peoples.

Report No. 4

THE ROLE OF THE EMPLOYERS IN THE ADAPTATION OF RURAL AND FOREIGN WORKERS TO INDUSTRY

by Gunnar Lindström
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Introduction

This final report - which ties in with the preliminary report No.4 - is based on the views advanced by the employers in their reports at the seminar and on the discussion of these and other reports. The seminar dealt with the adaptation of native rural workers and of foreign labour to industry.

A great many of the problems encountered in the transfer of these two groups are common to both, especially as most of the foreign workers nowadays are of rural origin. There are, however, certain problems which are peculiar to foreign workers. To avoid repetition the two groups are discussed together - and the context should make it clear which problems apply to which category. It is not intended to deal with all the relevant questions; the emphasis will be on those aspects of the problem which attracted special interest during the seminar. This means that there may be both theoretical and practical questions of great significance which are passed over entirely, or only briefly touched upon, in this report. Some of them were mentioned in the preliminary report.

In the case of native labour coming from agriculture, problems associated with rural workers may differ from those of farmers owning their own land, and tied to their holding, who go over to industrial work. There will also be different problems according to whether a firm expands its activities or commences fresh operations in an area which is already industrialised, to which labour has to move or whether it starts fresh operations in an area or moves to one where labour is available. In the latter case, certain problems, such as the general process of assimilation, contact with the home district and perhaps the housing question, will be simpler for the native farm worker. Others, e.g. retraining and the fact that most of the labour force is unaccustomed to industrial work, can give rise to greater difficulties from the firm's point of view.

In the case of foreign labour, seasonal workers may present certain special problems which will not however be dealt with here. There may also be differences between the case of the worker who intends to stay for a year or a few years in the immigration country and the case of one who intends to settle there for a long time or perhaps for good. Only some of these problems will be touched upon.

The scientific side of the problem will not be dealt with. This does not mean that the employers are uninterested in scientific research in these fields. On the contrary: there is considerable interest in supporting scientific investigations, as was made plain during the seminar by examples from Holland, Italy, Sweden and other countries.

We shall not discuss here either the need to see the whole subject of the seminar in relation to the employers' interest in greater economic growth and greater production with due attention to the human aspects and social responsability.

The report is chiefly concerned with action taken within the individual firm, which in general plays the principal part on the employers' side. Normally, the organisations assist chiefly in contacts and negotiations with the authorities concerning such matters as entry permits, labour permits, the arrangement of training and retraining courses, the establishment of standard practices for payment of various costs, the solution of the housing question, etc. Employers' organisations only exceptionally pursue any other form of activity in this sphere. The Bundesvereinigung der Deutschen Arbeitgeberverbände, however, has done a great deal of work on these questions - work which should be of considerable value for other countries.

Many adaptation measures call for close co-operation between the authorities, employers and trade unions. In the case of foreign labour, this collaboration must be extended to the international plane. The steps taken must be thoroughly prepared in co-operation between the parties concerned, but since the employer is responsible for running his business, the final decision must be left to him within the limits laid down by the authorities. The employer has to gauge the need for labour. In doing so he must first strike a balance between labour-saving rationalisation measures and the use of human labour, and it may then be necessary to strike a further balance between the utilisation of any remaining domestic resources, e.g. female labour and the older age groups, and the utilisation of foreign labour.

Formal rules governing the emigration and immigration of labour

There are some special agreements between countries of emigration and of immigration. They are to be found on various levels, e.g. within the Common Market, between the Nordic countries, between Great Britain and Ireland, and between Germany and certain countries outside the Common Market. The drawing up of such agreements is naturally a matter of fundamental interest to the employers. The same applies to any other rules which may exist concerning the transfer of labour from one country to another. The home unions sometimes, but only as an exception, exert pressure on the authorities to restrict the granting of labour permits to foreign workers. In all essentials, however, the attitude of the employees' side is very positive.

Selection

Selection in recruitment is obviously of great importance to the employer. It can be exercised by the authorities or by the employer with or without consultation with the authorities. In certain cases special recruiting agencies have been established; it is important that these should be run in a responsible fashion and staffed with competent personnel. In connection with the question of selection, the problem of using modern, scientific methods arises, together with that of medical examination before engagement, which is essential for foreign labour.

Information

The problem of information attracted great interest at the seminar. Initial information on the main outlines of the new job, and, in the case of foreign labour, on the new country, must be given before engagement. It is important to see that the job-seeker obtains some idea of the work that is being offered, its physical and mental requirements, the basic rules in force, etc. Just as important, of course, is basic information on the remuneration in the form of cash wages and social benefits. In this connection, however, it must clearly realised that it can be difficult to give even basic information with satisfactory results. On the one hand we have workers who may be quite unaccustomed to industrial work and may never have seen a factory of the kind in question; on the other hand we have modern factories and complicated systems for payment and social benefits which are by no means easy to understand. One German firm showed photographs of the factory and of the particular jobs for which the firm wanted personnel to job-seeking foreigners, in their home country. Information on the trade unions in the new country should also be given at an early stage. It is not possible to specify exactly what information should be given before engagement and what information should be given when the recruit starts work and in the period immediately following. We shall confine ourselves to stating that when the worker begins his employment, he must be given further information on the questions mentioned above and on a number of others if they have not already been dealt with: these include the tax system, housing, schooling, recreation facilities and the general aspect of the new society which the recruit is to enter. In addition to informing the job-seeker or the newly engaged worker, it is important to furnish the families with information too. Some of it should already have been given prior to engagement. This is best done by means of a visit to the new locality, but this of course hardly possible for foreign labour.

It is also important for a firm to give information on the foreigners to its own foremen and workers. The information can be given by the authorities, the employment exchange being first in line here, by the firm, or by an employers' organisation. But under all circumstances this task must largely fall upon the individual firm, which has a heavy responsibility in this connection.

The information can be given orally or in writing. For more complicated questions, written information is necessary. On the other hand, the employers' facilities for translation into a number of languages are of course limited. In this connection, mention may be made of a book issued by the German employers' confederation giving information to its member-firms about foreign labour.

In certain cases, special introduction programmes or introduction courses, giving information in a very wide sense of the term, have been arranged by a firm or by an employers' organisation. There are examples of this, in relation to native labour, from Italy, Sweden and elsewhere.

The housing question

Great emphasis was laid on the fact that housing is one of the most important and at the same time most difficult questions affecting national and international mobility of labour. In most cases the housing shortage was pronounced; but the situation varied a great deal, according to the housing policy pursued by the individual countries. In this respect the task of the employer will be to attempt to exert influence on housing construction by the authorities in the district where the firm is located. In certain cases the firm includes housing construction for its employees in its own programme. Such housing must never be supplied free of charge to migrant labour, but the rent must of course be kept at an acceptable level. The housing question is also perhaps the greatest difficulty when a man's family is to be transferred. It is extremely important for workers who remain for a long time to bring the family with them and this is therefore a major consideration for the employer also.

Training and retraining

This is one of the most important problems for the employers, as it is one of the spheres in which they must be active. But this part of the problem was more or less outside the scope of the seminar. Only one or two observations will therefore be made in this report. The length of time a foreign worker intends to remain in his new country is of fundamental importance both in his own interest in acquiring training and in the employers' interest in letting him undergo training. A further point worth mentioning is the very great importance of training for the country of emigration should the worker later return to his old homeland. Finally, we shall content ourselves with mentioning the important and thorny problem of how the training should be divided, from the point of view of locality and of cost, between the emigration country and the immigration country.

Assimilation

Assimilation into the new workplace and the new locality (which may be in a foreign country) was one of the main points at the seminar. This is a problem which is particularly important at the beginning of employment, but the employer must keep up with the course of events and not lose interest in the question after a time. Incidentally, scientific investigations on this subject might well be of great practical value. Assimilation problems, of course, will affect both the employees and, where applicable, their families. It is a truism to say that the greater the change in the environment the greater will be the problem. But, to take a relatively simple case, that of the redeployment of rural workers as building workers in the same country, the changes in this case will be relatively moderate. But if we take the redeployment of rural workers from a non-industrialised country to factory work in another, highly industrialised country, the change will of course be extremely profound and often difficult.

It was widely stressed that language is the greatest difficulty in the case of foreign labour. The employer can ease the situation by issuing brochures in the foreign language dealing with working conditions, social legislation, etc., but for practical reasons this can normally be done only in a few languages. Language courses can be arranged to teach the language of the new country, and this is in fact done on a considerable scale. Foreign workers often show little interest in these courses. A good supply of interpreters is an important factor, and it should be stressed that their task should be to interpret only, and not to act in addition as some sort of adviser in social and other similar questions. It is of course valuable if someone on the supervisory staff or in the personnel department can speak or understand the foreign language. In some cases foremen have been issued with special dictionaries. A problem that is quite different is that of language courses for the foreign children in their own language, so that they will not have forgotten it should they at a later date return to their old country.

Food and drink were mentioned as another important practical question bearing upon assimilation. Here, too, the employer can make a contribution by setting up restaurants with personnel from the same country as the foreign workers, restaurants which serve special meals for the foreigners and the drinks they are used to having. The employer can also facilitate the import of certain foodstuffs by special clubs formed by the workers concerned. In the long run, however, it is better for the foreign workers to adapt themselves to the ways of the new country in the matter of food and drink, as these have been determined by the climate and conditions of life in the country.

There are several ways in which the employer can further the facilities available to foreign workers for recreation, leisure occupations, the pursuit of cultural interests, etc. Some people consider that the employers should not concern themselves with leisure matters, as this is something which the employee should see to for himself. On the other hand, there are cases in which the employer has started this kind of activity with happy results.

In some cases the subject of religion occurs, and there are instances in which the employer has arranged for a special chapel and a priest belonging to the religion professed by the foreign workers.

Another point of great importance is that everything should be done to facilitate the transfer of money to the home country as this may constitute a valuable influx of foreign exchange to the emigration country.

The result of the efforts to adapt the workers to industrial employment

Questions of discipline (particularly working hours and the whole problem revolving round the employers' demand for regular work) have caused the employers difficulties, which have sometimes been very serious with those who have not previously been accustomed to industrial work. In certain cases there may also have been difficulties with workmates where the immigrant employee has worked as part of the team.

Absence for sickness has in certain cases been higher. The insurance systems may be a factor here, since the new workers are unaccustomed to the relatively high benefits payable in some countries in case of illness. But there are also examples of normal or even lower absence for sickness among foreign labour.

The number of accidents at work is often higher on a percentage basis, because these workers are unfamiliar with industrial employment. The difficulties are of course greater for foreign workers, where language difficulties in supervision constitute an additional factor. In this context, the employer can issue brochures written in the workers' own language, and greater use can be made of notices illustrating a particular hazard pictorially. But the higher accident rate is by no means general even for foreign labour.

The mobility of foreign labour is sometimes higher, sometimes approximately the same as that of native workers.

After a certain "running-in" period, the rural workers and the foreign workers in general can maintain a normal rate of work without any particular difficulty. Certain problems have however arisen in connection with foreign workers who only intend to stay for a year or two and whose chief object is to save up a sum of money. These workers sometimes want to work faster than the native workers, who gauge their pace knowing that they will be working under similar conditions for the whole of their active life. For similar reasons, readiness to work overtime may be greater among foreign workers.

A summary report on the contribution made by the employers to the adaptation of rural workers and foreign labour to industrial employment is, perhaps, not the right forum in which to pass judgment on whether they have succeeded. However, taking into account the very considerable migrations to widely different environments that have taken place, and the very great problems that have arisen, the results have been fairly good. It was already shown during the seminar that the employers' side is interested in contributing by various means to the achievement of further advances in the process of adaptation.

Report No. 5

ROLE OF THE TRADE UNIONS IN ADAPTING RURAL WORKERS TO INDUSTRY

by Roger Louet
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I. WHY AND HOW ADAPTATION SHOULD BE FACILITATED

Any study of potential trade union assistance to migrant workers from French agriculture or from abroad involves at least a broad definition of the needs of such workers.

1. Development of rural employment

A country's rural population tends to decrease as its economy develops. This elementary fact was brought out at the beginning of the industrial revolution in the 19th century. It was at first regarded as a passing trend, then as a social calamity (the flight from the land), and has now come to be accepted as a simple economic fact which must be turned to serve the general interest.

Some figures drawn from a recent I.L.O. study confirm the relationship between economic progress and decrease in agricultural population.

In countries where nominal income is over $1,000 a head, less than 20 per cent of the population is in agriculture. In countries where income is $500 to $1,000 a head, the figure is 25 per cent.

In countries where income is less than $500 a head, the agricultural population approximates to half the total population.

The increased demand for labour due to economic development is supplied from the agricultural sector. In view of technical progress, agriculture does not require a large labour force for economic operation, and the majority of rural workers are therefore underemployed. An industrial opening is always welcome, and there is no difficulty in finding unskilled labour.

This holds good both for the country as a whole and locally; the adaptation of a proportion of the rural population to industrial work is one aspect of a properly planned regional development policy.

Two pitfalls must be avoided in setting up an industry in a rural area:

- Failure of the worker to become adapted technically to his new job, and consequent bottlenecks in production;
- Inadequate training and information, causing dissatisfaction among the displaced workers, and psycho-sociological troubles.

In these circumstances, a thorough knowledge of the chief problems involved is needed if farm workers are to be smoothly adapted to industry. They are:

- Quantitative adjustment of rural workers to industrial demand; adaptation to industrial work in the firm;
- Social adjustment.

2. Quantitative adjustment of rural workers to industrial demand

In the long run, adjustment presents no problem, as it effects itself. In the short run, however, it is not always possible to synchronise the demand for labour by industry with the supply from agriculture. Adjustment depends on two factors:

- The attractiveness of industrial work;
- The reasons for transferring, and its relative facility.

(a) Reasons for transfer

The first reason is an economic one; agriculture seems to be a "dead end". The following reasons were elicited from an enquiry carried out in France:

- Insufficient earnings (22 per cent);
- Insecurity of employment (15 per cent);
- Difficult working conditions (10 per cent)

Finally, 20 per cent of the ex-farm workers questioned had been obliged to leave agriculture much against their will, in order to live. All referred to the lack of prospects in their native environment or in their own situation.

On an international view, the reasons are found to be very similar, and insufficient earnings are most often invoked. This is due to the fact that agricultural income rises relatively more slowly than national income. A table published by the I.L.O. shows that in ten countries out of 25 considered, farm income per head is less than half as high as the average income in other social groups. In the majority of countries, it represents one-half of the average; it is equal to the average in only two countries - the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. Productivity in agriculture is growing faster than the demand for agricultural products, and farm mechanisation has dispensed with the need for a large labour force.

In some countries (e.g. France, Italy, the Netherlands), there is also a structural cause. Over-population in the country is encroaching on the area of farm land, which is becoming insufficient to provide the farmer with a reasonable income, although yields per hectare are satisfactory. The difference in income is further aggravated by differences in living and working conditions. The work is uncertain, with no fixed hours, at the mercy of the elements; the life lacks comfort and leisure; children's education is difficult.

As a social group, farm workers are the most dissatisfied with their lot.

The mobility which makes this migration possible is, however, by no means complete or automatic. Farm workers show some hesitation at the prospect of a change of occupation. The disparity in income must be fairly considerable to overcome their reluctance. It is estimated that migration begins when agricultural wages fall below 75 to 80 per cent of industrial wages in corresponding grades.

Finally, farmers themselves are less mobile than farm employees; in migrating, they surrender their capital, their experience and some degree of freedom. Age also plays a part, the oldest farmers being more inclined to stay on the land even in unsatisfactory circumstances.

(b) Attractiveness of industrial work

The attraction is both economic and psychological. The strength of industry's appeal to labour depends on the number of jobs offered, and thus on the rate of economic expansion. This economic factor is enhanced or minimised by a psychological factor. The attraction of a safe job, the satisfaction of having a definite occupation, the feeling of technical promotion conferred by greater specialisation, are so many reasons making for mobility. The fear of a change of environment and the feeling of social isolation in a big town weigh in the opposite direction. These factors lose their force when the migrant has friends already settled in town, or when the firm concerned is decentralised. (In this event, everything must be done to advertise the jobs offered and provide information about them.)

3. Requirements for adapting the agricultural population

(i) Technical adaptation

Firms demand the same level of productivity from ex-agricultural labour as from other labour. Vocational training is therefore needed. This is a matter both for the public authorities and for the firms themselves. The problem first arises in connection with the apprenticeship of young people in rural areas. Apprenticeship centres (in France) or higher technical schools (in the Netherlands) are set up by the State in rural areas; or the young trainees may serve their apprenticeship in an urban centre. (The Netherlands Ministry of Labour provides facilities for young people from less developed areas to do their apprenticeship in a large town in the West of the country.) The latter method is not always successful, owing to the difficulties of an abrupt change of environment.

Experience has shown that rural trainees have the same capacities as town apprentices, but that they need a longer period of apprenticeship, owing to the lower standard of school education and the slower pace of work in the country. Further education in mechanics and science would develop the technical capacities of the rural trainees, and put them on an equal footing with their town comrades.

When adults transfer to industry, they can follow a shortened training course, but in most cases training in the firm itself is essential.

The results obtained from rural manpower in industry can be assessed by objective, measurable standards. After a longer "running-in" period than for urban labour, their output is of equal quantity and quality. They may work at a slower rate, but they keep it up all day, although they find it difficult to "put on a spurt". In their own opinion, the work is easier than farm work.

(ii) Psychological adjustment

There is found to be a very clear connection between general satisfaction or dissatisfaction with work (over wages, surroundings, relations with established workers) and a favourable or unfavourable attitude to the work itself.

Adaptation to fellow-workers presents no problem. On the contrary, friendships ripen quickly, and contact inside the firm with those already trained in industrial work assists the adaptation process.

Consequently, in areas of low urban density in France, the existence of an industrial environment and tradition in the recruiting area assists the adaptation of rural manpower. The industrial way of life is rapidly transmitted by living examples.

The attitude to wages is by no means purely economic, especially in rural surroundings. If security of employment, working conditions and social relations are satisfactory, even a low wage may be accepted because it carries these advantages. On the other hand, isolated migrants will look upon the wages as the sole compensation, especially in urban surroundings. Their degree of satisfaction depends on the extent to which their hopes at the time of their departure have been fulfilled. The transfer is really regarded as a sort of promotion. If the rural worker completely fails to adapt himself, he can return to agriculture (but this is very rare, occurring in about 8 per cent of all cases) except in a period of unemployment, or he can become a building labourer, like many other peasant workers. This is the situation in France, but it is not the same in all other countries; in Holland, for instance, 20 per cent of the migrants return to the land.

In most cases, occupational migration is followed by other changes. Although a number of recruits from agriculture remain in medium-level employment, similar to that first taken up, 45 per cent succeed in obtaining internal promotion (in the firm), or external promotion (in some other branch). Thus, one means of helping the rural migrant's adaptation is to allow him to rise in the firm by internal promotion, and thus by internal training.

If the rural labour force were always kept on unskilled work, and the skilled jobs were reserved for those with previous industrial training, there would be no proper balance and some unrest would ensue.

In France, where there are few farm labourers, and the majority of agricultural workers are smallholders or medium-sized farmers, internal promotion offers the best chance of smooth adaptation. If promotion is only possible outside the firm, the migrants will be inclined to pin their hopes on small businesses.

(iii) Relations with management

When the factory is near the migrant's original home and he keeps in close touch with his original surroundings, an informal family-type relationship with the management is appreciated. The most highly industrialised workers (the most responsible and the best paid) are, however, exceptions to this rule. Their more combative attitude is better suited to relations through a trade union and a works committee. Where there is a complete break with the original environment, the workers show a marked preference for anonymous, formal relations based on labour-management agreement.

(iv) Participation in community life

When first going into industrial life, the former peasants retain an individualistic tradition which makes them underestimate the advantages of community action. Whether or not they subsequently take part in trade union activities depends not on their origin, but on the type of firm they work in. The higher its level of industrialisation, the more they will incline towards collective action. The higher their position, the more they will feel involved as members of a class. Lastly, security is a factor, fear of dismissal often underlying a failure to take any action.

Although agricultural trade union membership is small in France, the same is not true of other countries. In Italy, for instance, where most of those transferring to industry are agricultural labourers, trade union membership is high.

After this brief outline of the problems of adaptation in the firm, which are neither acute nor insoluable, we must turn our attention to adjustment to the social environment, which is a far more difficult matter.

4. Adjustment to the new way of life and social environment

The transfer to industry involves not only a change of occupation, but also changes in the way of living and in the social environment of the ex-rural worker.

This social adjustment is certainly the hardest problem. The degree of change in the social environment depends on whether the firm is located in town or country, and whether or not the worker has to move house.

The adjustment process should therefore be analysed on the basis of three hypotheses:

- Factory established in the country;
- Daily commuting by workers;
- Adjustment to urban life (moving house).

(i) Adjustment to industrial life in rural surroundings

A priori, this alternative is the one which should least upset the living habits of ex-rural workers, who keep their homes, or at least continue to live in the same environment.

However, the establishment of an industry necessarily transforms various aspects of the rural environment; for instance, the family structure is affected. As most of those entering industry are young people, the conflict between the two generations may be aggravated. Paternal authority loses some of its force, as the father is no longer the only source of professional experience; the children bring in new ideas which are often opposed to those of their families.

The whole rural environment is affected by the establishment of a factory, which is always accompanied by groups of operatives and executives bringing with them a more modern way of life. A gradual change will follow in the political and religious views of the villagers and in their customs.

(ii) Daily commuting by workers

This half-way solution between country and town life is mainly adopted by young, single people. Its possibilities are somewhat limited, as travel must not take up too much time. The daily distance covered obviously depends on the means of locomotion used, as the journey must never take more than an hour.

This is a satisfactory solution for those who prefer to live with their families in the country. It is, however, usually a provisional arrangement adopted while awaiting accomodation in the town.

When workers travel every day from country to town, the chances of tension within the family are just as great as if they worked in rural industry. In addition, the extra fatigue of the journey may affect the worker's productivity, and there may be more industrial accidents. Finally, such workers are in a somewhat ambiguous position, and may feel somewhat isolated socially.

(iii) Adjustment to the urban environment

The attraction of the town is rarely the decisive factor for the migrant farmer, as we have already seen. He does, however, learn to appreciate the town, with its independence and recreational facilities. The process of urbanisation thus proves to be irreversible and the migrant farmer very rarely returns to the land.

Adjustment to urban surroundings is always a matter of some difficulty, the acuteness of which varies with the social and cultural distance separating the two environments. Physical distance attenuates the family links and adds to the feeling of isolation. This is especially so in the very big cities, where the pace of life and social habits differ most from those in the country. Cases of maladjustment ending in departure occur more frequently in Paris than in provincial towns near the original environment. The telling factor is thus the social disparity, that is, the sociological difference between customs in town and country. In advanced countries, these differences tend to become blurred: housing, comfort and leisure are becoming more and more standardized. The media for dissemination of ideas (radio, television, the press) are also finding their way into rural households. The most characteristic features of country life certainly remain, but as the differences are reduced, the difficulties of adjustment should become less acute.

In under-developed countries, on the other hand, to move to the town is to enter a different world.

In spite of the rise in the standard of living which may result (although not always, as in India) there may be psychological disturbances. One method proposed to eliminate the drawbacks of the excessive disparity is to develop general education in the country. Certain beliefs may thus be subjected to the light of reason, and the changeover be facilitated by the provision of a cultural basis.

The problems of adjustment to the social environment are far and away the most difficult in "advanced" countries. They largely arise from the housing problem: only too often, the worker does not have decent accomodation for himself and his family. In this respect, the reception of rural labour leaves much to be desired in France, not only in towns, but also in decentralised industries. It is, moreover, a mistake to "park" the new arrivals in housing reserved for them; a "mixed" quarter is much more helpful to their adjustment.

The housing problem is aggravated by the problem of reception, or rather of isolation. Rural households settling in the town know nobody, cannot call upon help to look after the children, and cannot therefore benefit from the advantages of town life. A number of services should be provided to make the new arrivals feel at home, including nurseries and welfare services to smooth out the administrative details (formalities of social security, family allowances, rent). The associations for social integration should assimilate the new arrivals without dominating them.

Another kind of difficulty is met with in the town over the management of the family budget. What was sufficient in the country is not sufficient in the town. Town consumption habits are soon adopted, and needs are much more numerous than in the country. As the money wage is higher than in agriculture, the worker may tend to overspend, and spend unwisely; some training in household management and domestic economy, and some information about urban consumption patterns, would be very helpful.

It must not be overlooked that if the new pace of living is not fully assimilated, it may cause serious psychological disturbances, and hence profound maladjustment among a steadily growing class of people.

5. Catalogue of needs

The needs may be identified as follows:

- Need to find a job ensuring a minimum wage combined with sufficient stability of employment and income. For this need to be met, the migrant worker should receive, before he moves:
  - information on the state of the labour market which he means to approach and on sectors with labour shortages or surpluses.
  - vocational training for his new occupation.
- Need for housing, which can only be satisfied by providing information both for migrants and for building firms. In addition, financial assistance should probably be arranged.
- Need for adjustment to the industrial environment, at two levels:
  - in the firm, through friendly, effective assimilation;
  - in the urban social environment, through pre-existing reception arrangements to put the new arrivals in touch with the town dwellers. These arrangements should enable them to adapt themselves to their new social environment.
- Need for adjustment to administrative problems.

II. THE FORM WHICH THE TRADE UNION CONTRIBUTIONS SHOULD TAKE

The various reports presented at the Wiesbaden seminar and the ensuing discussions showed that where trade unionism has been able to make a contribution to the adaptation of rural and foreign workers to industry, this has been valuable. However, its activities with regard to migration, or those with which it has been associated - though this is more rare - are very unsatisfactory. In most cases isolated and limited action has been taken, unconnected and uncoordinated with other activities carried on elsewhere either by public authorities, or by employers' organisations or by both. Such procedures could only serve to increase the distrust of those for whom they are intended.

The seminar discussions enabled a better evaluation to be made of various types of action, the areas and the circumstances governing the trade union contribution, through a preliminary analysis of the experience in each of the participating countries.

Avoiding arbitrary movements of manpower

The main reasons for the exodus from the country are to find a job because there is none available there, or better paid or more stable employment. Movements are therefore not a matter of free will but are a social necessity. Migration should not therefore be considered as an end in itself. Even if it corresponds to economic and social needs, it should not be considered as unavoidable.

The harmonious development of national economies should be the main concern of governments. The technical cooperation of the most advanced countries should be directed towards improving the social condition of the workers of the less fortunate countries. This should be achieved through locating industries and modifying existing structures wherever manpower is available. By giving movement of industry priority over movement of manpower, arbitrary displacement of manpower and the human dramas resulting from it can be avoided.

The Trade Union movement has already achieved much in this field. Who could be better qualified to carry out such a policy? Through its participation in certain bodies it is able to influence countries' economic measures. In France, for example, it is cooperating in the preparation of the Plan; its representatives thus have an opportunity of emphasising the absence of the necessary structure and measures for ensuring that the transfer of rural workers to secondary and tertiary sectors is carried out under the best possible conditions.

The Unions are also represented on the Committees for Regional Economic Expansion where they stress the necessity of bringing new life to these regions and the need for measures to absorb the agricultural population now under-employed through technical development. The work carried out by the Centre d'Etudes et de Liaison des Interêts de Bretagne, a region with a large supply of rural manpower and very little industrial employment, is a good example of the type of activity required.

In the European Economic Community a consultative committee for the free movement of workers in the six countries of the Common Market has been set up. It consists of representatives of Governments, employers' and workers' organisations. A policy of free movement is slowly developing, at the instigation of the trade union delegates. This policy will deal particularly with reducing unemployment in certain regions by creating employment in the area, a joint policy of vocational training, speeding up the harmonisation of salary scales and social benefits, information for the workers, expansion of housing programmes, etc. The purpose of all this is to remove the restrictions on free migration of workers, and to avoid arbitrary and ill-considered movements.

It was noted at the Seminar that workers often left their country without knowing what sort of employment they would find in the receiving country. Rural workers frequently leave agriculture with no occupational training and with no idea at all of the employment available in the industrial and tertiary sectors.

Because of the requirements of technical progress, it is skilled manpower which is most in demand. It is essential to have full knowledge of demand and supply of manpower both numerically and according to qualifications, in order to make the best use of the labour force. Trade Unionism should be associated in this work.

Better equipment and staffing of the services responsible for following the development of employment and ensuring matching of vacancies and supply; the setting up or the improvement where they already exist, of national and regional employment committees, with the participation of employers' and workers' organisations would no doubt avoid the disillusion and disappointment of many workers whose only hope would seem to lie in immigration. Better employment forecasting and wider circulation of information also by the trade union press would certainly reduce the amount of ill-considered movement.

Providing information (on the departure and arrival areas)

This is the area in which most seems to have been done although there is still some confusion. The trade union movement has made praiseworthy efforts, often with very inadequate financial resources. These efforts have not always been well received; some employers, by emphasising the the dangers of trade unionism have often aroused distrust and sometimes hostility among the new arrivals. The German and Belgian Trade Unions, however, have prepared and distributed brochures or guides in several languages for the use of foreign workers, which contain essential information about their rights and on living and working conditions in the receiving countries. These documents are neither political nor controversial, although in countries with communist trade unions this is unavoidable.

An association for protecting the rights of Italian migrant workers and assisting them has been set up in France by the Free Trade Unions of France and Italy. (It is called the Association des Travailleurs Italiens Emigrés en France, A.T.I.E.F.) Similar associations exist in Germany, Belgium and Switzerland.

There are some other interesting schemes which are also worth mentioning. In Norway, for instance, some firms organise special lectures for immigrant workers. In Germany special delegates have been chosen to look after foreign workers in the firm.

On the other hand, it was pointed out that workers and employers were not represented on the recruiting missions of the national immigration authorities. This omission is contrary to the humanist principles which should govern the recruitment of foreign workers.

Development of vocational guidance and training measures

Paradoxically it would seem that the contribution of trade unions is more advanced in this area than in those mentioned previously. A distinction should however be made between the countries where these subjects are dealt with mainly by the public authorities and those where private initiative is largely responsible.

The French case is worth mentioning. The Association Nationale Inter-professionnelle pour la Formation Rationelle de la Main-d'Oeuvre (A.N.I.F.R.M.O.) set up some time ago, is responsible for the adult vocational training centres (FPA). A special characteristic of this association is that it is financed out of government funds, and its board of management and bureau consist of equal numbers of representatives of the Ministry of Labour, and of Employers' and Workers' Organisations. Permanent liaison is thus ensured between the employers who express the requirements of industry, the trade unions, whose main concern is better use of manpower, and the services of the Ministry of Labour who are responsible for all employment services, particularly those dealing with placement. By its participation in the work of this association, trade unionism makes a vital contribution on behalf of rural and foreign migrants.

The second half of Case study no. 4 describes a similar action particularly adapted to the problem of rural workers. Another example is that of the recently established Fonds National de l'Emploi (National Employment Fund) whose purpose is to encourage retraining, redeployment and if necessary movement of workers who have lost their jobs through technological change. This applies particularly to agricultural workers or small farmers.

A number of vacational training centres for adults similar to those in France have been set up in many other countries, particularly in Europe; bilateral or multilateral training programmes have been worked out using accelerated vocational training methods. These are not sufficient to meet the needs, but they do offer advantages to migrant workers by making it easier for them to find suitable employment in the receiving country and giving them some grounding in the new language.

A Consultative Committee for Vocational Training has recently been set up in the European Economic Community. Governments, employers and workers are all represented on this committee whose purpose is to promote joint action in favour of vocational training which is essential to any human and social policy for the free movement of workers.

The contribution of trade unionism to these activities is especially valuable, and provides firm guarantees for migrant workers.

During the seminar, special emphasis was laid on the case of military service which is a cross roads in the professional life of many young people. For some of them, particularly young rural people, military service provides them with their first opportunity of travelling and seeing the outer world. Advice should be given to recruits during military service to assist them in choosing or changing their profession so that they will have suitable vocational training before they leave the service.

Helping the integration of migrants into the new communities

The integration of migrant workers is certainly the most difficult phase. Lack of knowledge of the language, being far from the family, the climate, the housing, adjustment to new ways of living are all difficulties which have to be overcome. They would be overcome more easily if the host community offered hospitality, understanding and help in coping with these problems. The distrust shown by the emigrants is understandable but is rarely dissipated. Their integration is not helped by living together in "ghettos" in the receiving country. This difficulty in integration is largely due to lack of psychological preparation. Trade unionism which by nature is international, should be a vital element in the reception of migrants, but is often disparaged or attacked or simply presented in such a fashion that it inspires distrust. It is sometimes divided and some of its groups are too biased or too political to be able to offer all the guarantees of objectivity and fair dealing which migrant workers expect.

However, in most countries, the trade union delegates provide the channel of appeal through which the migrant worker can defend his rights. By insisting that employers and national authorities grant migrant workers the same conditions of work and pay as nationals, by ensuring that they also benefit from the provisions of collective agreements which the unions have negotiated, the trade unions can do much to improve the status of both rural and foreign workers.

Where there are union delegates in the firms (delegates of the staff or of the works councils) or works councils, based on the trade unions, these can give advice and assistance to migrant workers.

In the normal course of defending workers' rights, trade unions often defend and protect foreign and rural workers in spite of themselves and often without their approval, but as these workers are not aware of this they do not believe it.

Their treatment in the factories is also dependent on management and supervisory staff. If these groups are properly briefed, they can do much to help in integration, but this is not always the case, and workers' delegations in firms should insist that management take the necessary steps.

The reception of migrants is not the responsibility of the firm alone, it must be organised outside the firm as well. Local bodies and public authorities should improve cultural and leisure time activities and make them available to foreign workers in particular. In this field also trade unionism can offer services; hostels for young people, training centres, information meetings, etc.

CONCLUSION

Many different sorts of measures are used by trade unions in their contribution to the adaptation of rural and foreign workers to industry. But they are not enough to meet the needs.

Financial resources and aid are often lacking. Trade unionism's achievements are often impaired by the hostility which the movement arouses among some employers, employers' organisations or public authorities. There is sometimes overlapping between the activities of the unions and of other organisations and bodies.

Trade unions can do much to promote an active manpower policy in every country and should be associated in its preparation. They cannot accept the easy solution which is for workers to migrate while so many regions become gradually poorer, regions with large potential manpower resources whose main desire is to be trained and to find work in the region in new industries which have settled there. Many social and family dramas could thus be avoided.

In all the fields of information, training, education, mobility, housing of workers, trade unionism is the safest guarantee that the individual's rights are respected.

Finally, honest cooperation between public authorities, employers and workers should be sought in all circumstances. It alone can ensure that migrant workers both rural and foreign will receive the same treatment as their fellow workers. This cooperation will remove all the prejudices against migrant workers.

By pooling resources and efforts, and by giving due respect to the prerogatives of each individual, the contradiction, waste, suspicion and conflicts which hamper the establishment of healthy relations between migrant workers and others could be avoided.

Employers and workers should do their utmost to achieve the conditions necessary for successful cooperation.

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